Identity Motives: Influences of Multiple Motives on Cognitive and Behavioural Dimensions of Facebook Identity Construction

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written, nor material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

_____ (Signed)

So Suet Szeto (Name of student)

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Abstract

According to boyd and Ellison's (2008) definition of social media, Profiles and social connections are two major features that define these online platforms. On Facebook, Profile allows users to build a personal profile that consists of user-supplied content. Considering the feature of social connection, Facebook News Feed is an interface on which users can see other users' activities and then interact with them (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Previous research on Facebook identity construction has generally focused on the Facebook Profiles (Manzi et al., 2018; R. E. Wilson et al., 2012), yet overlooked the notion that social interactions on Facebook News Feed could also be a process of identity construction. Furthermore, a model that illustrates the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity construction on Facebook has not been established. This thesis aimed to fill the research gaps by investigating how the motivational influences of identity construction affected the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity processes on both Facebook Profiles and the Facebook News Feed. Drawing on Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory, six identity motives: self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning, and belonging, were examined in the present research project. Study 1 was a cross-sectional quantitative study designed to investigate the extent to which Facebook users perceived their Facebook Profiles could satisfy the six identity motives. A proposed conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, was tested, and the results suggested that Facebook users were driven by the motives of distinctiveness and meaning to construct a fluid identity on Facebook Profiles, instead of a continuing identity. Both Study 2 and Study 3 were qualitative investigation, exploring how identity motive might influence identity construction on Facebook News Feed, on

which Facebook users can read and leave comment to news posts (Müller et al., 2016; Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Study 2 incorporated the six identity motives into Giles and Shaw's (2009) news framing analysis for exploring how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing. The findings of Study 2 informed Study 3 about the appealed identity motives. Study 3 then incorporated the six identity motives into the analytical framework of deductive confirmatory content analysis for examining how Facebook users satisfied their identity motives through commenting to news posts as a behavioural response to identity construction. The findings of Study 3 revealed that Facebook users generally picked up the messages in the news narrative and responded in ways to satisfy the corresponding identity motives which were appealed to in the news. The findings of Study 2 and Study 3 were explained from a cultural perspective and synthesised to provide implications for changing a demanding learning culture and to the extent building an inclusive society. Taken together, this thesis has demonstrated that the six identity motives could have impact on the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction, whereby has made important theoretical and methodological contributions to the literature.

Keywords: identity motives, identity construction, Facebook, social media, news framing, Facebook comments, fluid identity

Introduction

"You have one identity." Mark Zuckerberg, CEO and co-creator of Facebook, asserted during an interview with Kirkpatrick (2010). Zuckerberg continued:

> The days of you having a different image for your work friends or co-workers and for the other people you know are probably coming to an end pretty quickly. Having two identities for yourself is an example of a lack of integrity (Kirkpatrick, 2010, p. 199 as cited in van Dijck, 2013).

Zuckerberg's view of one identity is criticised for having vested interests in collecting authentic identity on account of commercial values (van Dijck, 2013), since almost 80% of online big data are collected from social media for marketing use (Bóveda-Lambie & Lambeth, 2018). Contrary to Zuckerberg's assertion, some early papers suggest people should keep distinct facets of identity on different social media platforms to separate personal and work-related identities, and to avoid handing too much information to one platform (Gross, 2012; van Dijck, 2013). In a related vein, some other papers postulate that people intend to portray a Facebook façade that is to a certain extent different from their offline identity (Birnbaum, 2013; Gil-Or et al., 2015). Nevertheless, Zhao, Grasmuck and Martin (2008) discovered people generally give out "realistic and honest" (p. 1830) identities. The equivocal outcomes in the literature may be attributed to the different conceptualisations of the Facebook environment as anonymous or nonymous, and more importantly, of different motivational influences on identity work. boyd and Ellison (2008) define social media as online platforms that allow users to 1) construct a public or semi-public personal Profile that consists of user-supplied content; 2) articulate a list of users with whom they have online and/or offline connections, which can be viewed

and traversed by others; and 3) consume, produce, and/or interact with streams of user-generated content provided by their connections on the site (p. 211). This definition indicates that Profile and social connections are two major features that define social media platforms. On these online platforms, diverse social groups unite in the social media network, such as family, friends, and co-workers, which reduces the social boundaries of subgroups. Zhao, Grasmuck and Martin (2008) describe the environment of social media as nonymous, the opposite of anonymous, on which platforms users know one another directly or are connected indirectly through common friends (McConnell et al., 2017). Taking Facebook as an example, Facebook Profile is a place on Facebook, where users provide user-supplied information to inform others who they are. Activities, such as creating a post on Facebook Wall and uploading an image to be Profile Picture, could show users' identity (Veale et al., 2015). The Facebook News Feed is a place on Facebook, displaying other Facebook users' activities, in where is full of social connections. (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). For example, Facebook users who create a post on their own Facebook Walls or uploading images to be their Profile Pictures will appear on other users' Facebook News Feed. In other words, users' identity works on their own Facebook Profiles are visible across diverse network subgroups. This nonymous environment motivates users to present a "realistic and honest" (p. 1830) identity, instead of constructing an incongruent identity (Zhao et al., 2008).

Previous research has started to examine the motivational influence on identity work on social media (Manzi et al., 2018; Selim et al., 2014). Vignoles and colleagues (2006) found motives for self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging have influence on identity process and named the six motivational influences as identity motives. Vignoles (2011) defines identity motives as "the tendencies toward certain identity states and away from others that channel the processes of identity definition and

identity enactment" (p. 405). This definition indicates that people are driven by the six motives to enact identity elements which show their self-defining aspects of identity. Manzi and colleagues (2018) took the perspective that Facebook environment is nonymous and set out to examine identity motives on Facebook. They computed four out of six motives, self-esteem, continuity, belonging and efficacy, as a single indicator to measure identity motive satisfaction on Facebook. They found that identity motive satisfaction was related to Facebook use. Their findings support the notion that, in the nonymous environment, identity on Facebook is anchored to that in the offline context, which motives users to present a congruent identity with that in the offline world to satisfy their identity motives. Although Manzi and colleagues' (2018) paper does not attempt to address Zuckerberg's one identity view, their results suggest that people are less likely to build multiple identities on Facebook.

Manzi and colleagues (2018) are among the first scholars to study identity motives in the online context, providing empirical evidence of motivational influence on identity construction activities in the Facebook environment. Yet, questions in their research have not been addressed. One of the major weaknesses of their research is that their analytical approach, measuring identity motive satisfaction as a single indicator, has failed to demonstrate the contribution of each identity motive to Facebook identity work. Another major weakness of Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research is that they have not tested a model to delineate motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity construction on Facebook. Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) pivotal research has demonstrated the unique contribution of each motive to perceived centrality of identity (the cognitive dimension) and identity enactment (the behavioural dimension) in identity construction. In the cognitive dimension, people evaluate the different aspects of their identity, and perceive the aspects which can satisfy the identity motives to be central. In

the behavioural dimension, they enact the identity elements to show the central aspects of their identity to satisfy the identity motives (Vignoles et al., 2006). Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) research demonstrated a complex interplay of motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity construction. Where Facebook has largely integrated into everyday life (Wilson, Gosling, & Graham, 2012), there is a growing need to investigate the motivational influence on identity construction and identity enactment on Facebook. One of the main objectives of this research is to establish a conceptual model to predict the unique pathways of the six identity motives contributing to cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity construction on Facebook.

. Identity construction on Facebook is a multidimensional work. Users perform their identity on their own Profiles, or they may construct their identities by replying to other users' posts on Facebook News Feed. On Facebook News Feed, news-related posts are the most common type of post (Müller et al., 2016; Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Facebook is the most visited social media site across the world, and traditional news media rush to open accounts on Facebook to enjoy its functions and to connect with its broad user network (Hille & Bakker, 2013). News posts designed to attract Facebook users' attention could generate higher click rates. A common way to report news on Facebook is that the news media report the main points of the incident and embed an external link showing an image or a video of the news story. Framing devices, such as strong headlines, orienting lead paragraphs, and provocative images, are commonly used to draw attention (Druckman, 2001). If the news post could draw Facebook users' attention, it is likely to receive comments from them. The comments will show on other users' Facebook New Feed, by which the news can spread wider and reach a broader range of users (Hille & Bakker, 2013).

News framed in different ways could influence cognitive interpretations of events, which directs readers to construct their reality from the perspective of the writers (William A Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Goffman, 1974; McQuail, 1994). In the meantime, readers' identity could also have an influence on their cognitive processes, for instance, people lend more credence to, and have a better recall rate on news which is framed to evoke existing self-conceptions (Shrauger, 1975; Vignoles, 2011). Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall (2010) examined selectively exposure to online news articles and found that participants selectively exposed themselves to the news stories, to which could bolster their self-esteem. These research findings suggest that news stories framed in such a way to evoke existing self-conception (continuity) and boost self-esteem, could draw people's attention. Considering that framing of news involves readers' cognitive engagement, Giles and Shaw (2009) incorporated a psychological element, identification, into their analysis of news framing. Giles and Shaw (2009) found that news media used framing devices to draw reader identification. Previous research has suggested that identity motives could influence how people perceived the trustworthiness of the news stories, or selectively expose to news articles (Knobloch-Westerwick & Hastall, 2010; Shrauger, 1975; Vignoles, 2011). However, the motivation that drives the identification has not been answered in Giles and Shaw's (2009) paper or in the existing literature. This thesis aims to close the research gap by incorporating identity motives in news framing analysis to examine how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing.

Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall's (2010) research findings suggest another notion that the way news media framed news could have an impact on audiences' behavioural outcomes whereby participants selectively exposed themselves to the news stories, to which could enhance self-esteem. Facebook News Feed is an interactive place, where users can read the news posts, and then leave comment on the posts. One of the

motivations for people reading news on Facebook is that Facebook allows commenting (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Commenting can be a way of self-presentation, and through this Facebook activity, users express their views, thoughts and personal opinions for showing who they are (van Dijck, 2013). For Vignoles and colleagues (2006), the construct of identity enactment is similar to that of self-presentation. They define identity enactment as showing or enacting identity elements in everyday life to satisfy identity motives. Their research found that participants tended to enact the aspects of identity they perceived as central. Yet, up to now, far too little attention has been paid to the notion that Facebook users enact identity in order to satisfy different motives through commenting on news. In this sense, the final aim of this thesis is to examine the behavioural notion of how Facebook users satisfied identity motives while responding to news framing.

The major purpose of this thesis is to investigate whether and how identity motives influence the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity construction on Facebook. In Chapter 1 of this thesis, the literature review will begin by describing Vignoles and his fellow scholars' pivotal works of identity motives. Vignoles and colleagues (2006) found that people enact identity elements to show the aspects of their identity which can maintain and increase the senses of self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning, and belonging. Vignoles (2011), later, proposed a motivated identity construction theory to illustrate the unique contributions of the six motives to perceived centrality in the cognitive dimension and identity enactment in the behavioural dimension. Recently, the examination of identity motives has been extended from offline context to social media platforms (Manzi et al., 2018; Selim et al., 2014). Based on boyd and Ellison's (2008) definition of social media, Profile is one of the features defining social media platforms. Manzi and colleagues (2018) attempted to investigate the role of identity motives playing on Facebook Profiles. However, a conceptual model illustrating the relationships between the

motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction has not been tested. In Chapter 1, this thesis will discuss previous research examining identity motives on social media platforms and point out the research gaps in those studies. This thesis will address the limitations of those studies and formulate hypotheses accordingly.

The literature review in Chapter 2 will focus on discussing the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity construction. Based on boyd and Ellison's (2008) definition of social media, interactive social connection is another feature defining such online platforms. On Facebook, News Feed is the place full of social interactions. Facebook users can see other users' activities and interact with them. News-related posts are the most commonly encountered type of post on Facebook News Feed (Müller et al., 2016; Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Previous research has examined the effect of framing on people's cognitive processes. For example, people generally lend more credence to and have a better recall rate on news stories framed to evoke existing self-conception (Shrauger, 1975; Vignoles, 2011). In other words, news posts framed in a way that makes them more relevant to users' existing self-conception could draw users' attention. This thesis argues, as shown in Chapter 2, that news framed in such a way as to appeal to identity motives may be able to attract Facebook users' attention. Yet the examination of how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing has not been answered in existing literature. This thesis aims to fill the gap by exploring the existence of identity motives in news framing. In the process, Chapter 2 will also discuss Facebook users' behavioural response to news stories eliciting identity motives. Facebook users' activities are transparent to other users whereby their responses to news posts appear on other users' Facebook News Feed. The comments users made to news posts may be an enactment of identity that aims to satisfy the senses of self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging. So far, however, previous research has failed to

explore the presence of activities aimed at satisfying identity motive in Facebook users' responses to news posts. The final aim of this thesis is to close the research gap by examining how Facebook users responded to news posts for satisfying identity motives.

After reviewing the literature, a theoretical framework of this thesis will be discussed in Chapter 3. The present research project draws on Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory and adapts variables in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) paper to put forward a theoretical framework, named Motivational Facebook Identity Structure. The present framework theorises that identity motives have influences on cognitive and behavioural dimensions in shaping identity construction on Facebook. The framework, the adapted variables and the present methodology will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 will provide an account of the first study, Study 1, in this thesis. A cross-sectional quantitative study was performed to test the hypotheses (formulated in Chapter 1). After that, structural equation modelling was used to analyse the paths between measured variables and the latent constructs. The results showed that, as predicted, the six identity motives contributed independently to cognitive and behavioural dimension of identity construction. A detailed report of the results and the discussion will be presented in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 will report a qualitative analysis, Study 2, which was conducted to explore the existence of appealing to identity motives in news framing. This qualitative research incorporated the six identity motives in motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into Media Framing Analysis (Giles & Shaw, 2009) to investigate how news media appealed to identity motives in framing the news stories. The present framing analysis focused on mental health news, in particular relating to depression. The findings showed that the appealing to all six motives could be found in the news narrative. Chapter 5 will

report the stages of analysis and explain the justification of news selection, followed by the framing examination and discussion of findings.

After examining identity motives and news framing in Study 2, the findings informed Study 3 about how news appealed to identity motives in the framing. Study 3 then investigates how Facebook users satisfied their identity motives through commenting to the news posts which were analysed in Study 2. Study 3, reported in Chapter 6, adopted the six identity motives in motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) and incorporated them into the present analytical framework of deductive confirmatory content analysis for exploring the presence of activities aimed at satisfying identity motives in Facebook comments. This methodology framework was adapted from Selim and colleagues' (2014) paper which explored how Twitter users satisfied identity motives through creating Tweets. The findings in Study 3 demonstrated that Facebook users generally picked up the news framing appealing to identity motives and enacted the identity elements that could give them greater senses of the six identity motives while responding to news posts. The analysis procedure, findings and discussion will be reported in Chapter 6.

The final chapter, Chapter 7, will provide a general discussion of the research findings in terms of the main objective of investigating the motivational influence on cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction. The contribution of this thesis, its implications, and suggestions for further research, will be discussed.

In sum, since the multipurpose use of Facebook has mostly been integrated into everyday life (Wilson, Gosling, & Graham, 2012), there is a growing need to understand identity motives and Facebook identity construction. This thesis is essential to filling the research gaps by establishing a model of identity motives, cognitive processes and

behavioural outcomes on Facebook identity structures, and exploring the existence of identity motives in news framing and Facebook commenting.

CHAPTER 1

Identity Motives and Facebook Profile

Over the past few decades, an enormous amount of social psychological research has focused on the examination of identity construction (Vignoles, Chryssochoou, & Breakwell, 2002). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) is one of the key theories; however, its assumption that "individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem" (p. 16) is criticised in the literature as over-emphasising the role of self-esteem in identity construction (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Vignoles et al., 2002a). Vignoles and his fellow scholars have been studying motivational influence on the construction of identity, for instance, Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell (2002) found motives, apart from self-esteem, that could shape cognitive evaluation of centrality in one's identity. Vignoles and colleagues (2006) further examined identity motives and found five motives other than self-esteem that could also contribute to people's identity work. Later, Vignoles (2011) proposed a theory of motivated identity construction including six identity motives: self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning, and belonging, that have influences on cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity construction. These six motives are examined in various offline contexts, and the results could generally support that the hypotheses that they are universal motives.

With social media use having become prevalent, ample research on identity construction has expanded from offline to online contexts. However, the findings of previous studies conducted in the online contexts appeared to be mixed. Some early studies generalised the online platforms as being anonymous, such as online forums, chat

rooms, and social media. As the environment is anonymous, platforms users could construct a different online identity from their offline persona (Rheingold, 1995; Suler, 2004; Surratt, 1998; Turkle, 1995). In contrast, other papers argued that the context of social media is not anonymous. Unlike other anonymous online platforms, social media users are motivated to construct an identity congruent with their offline self (Manzi et al., 2018; Zhao et al., 2008). The different conceptualisations of social media environments as anonymous and nonymous (the opposite of anonymous) in the existing literature generated inconsistent findings, and the argument over anonymous and non-anonymous may be attributed to the nebulous definition of social media. This chapter will review this, and conclude a definition, which provides support for the view that the social media environment is nonymous, as opposed to anonymous (boyd & Ellison, 2008).

In this chapter, the review of the literature will initially focus on identity construction and the development of identity motives. This chapter will also review the arguments over anonymous and non-anonymous social media contexts, and justify the view that social media users are less likely to construct an online identity incongruent with the offline one. After that, previous research on the examination of identity motives on social media will be discussed. The limitation and research gaps guiding the aims of the present research project will be pointed out, and hypotheses will be formulated accordingly.

1.1 Identity Motives: Beyond Self-esteem

Identity refers to the subjective concept of oneself as a person, and the construction of identity involves subjective psychological experience and self-presentation in a social context (Vignoles, 2011; Vignoles et al., 2000). The subjective concept of a person is a mental representation of oneself, which is established through the interplay between cognitive evaluation of the self and social context (Niedenthal & Beike, 1997). Self-

presentation involves enactment of central aspects of identity in the social environment. Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell (2000) gave an example to explain the identity process: a musician needs to compare similarities and differences with other musicians as well as non-musicians to identify him/herself as a musician. To present such an identity, that person presents his/her musical ability to convey to others that s/he is a musician.

Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell (2000) and Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, and Scabini (2006) postulate that the process of identity construction is directed by particular motives, which make people feel good about themselves in a social context. Previous literature has discussed self-esteem as a possible motive guiding the construction of identity (Gregg et al., 2011; Heppner & Kernis, 2011; Rosenberg, 1986). For example, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) proposes that a meaningful intergroup discrimination enhances one's self-concept, which increases self-esteem. When self-esteem is frustrated, people become depressed and strive to minimise the damage. They may attune cognition evaluation or adjust their behaviour to explore, reconstruct and present other positive self-defining aspects of identity to protect their self-esteem (Salmivalli, 2001; Vignoles et al., 2006, 2008). The concept of identity processes in social identity theory can be illustrated by the aforementioned example of the musician: A person may find it meaningful when claiming to be a musician could distinguish him/her from others in a social context, and that increases his/her self-esteem. In contrast, if that person's musical ability is less satisfactory than that of other musicians, his/her identity as a musician becomes less central. His/her self-esteem is frustrated, and that person may explore, reconstruct and present another self-defining aspect of identity. That person may find another identity that could feel more self-defining to him/her than identifying as a musician (Vignoles et al., 2008). This example illustrates that, based on social identity theory, self-esteem is largely identified as a motive in the identity process.

A growing body of literature, however, argues that social identity theory might overemphasise self-esteem and undermine other latent motives in the identity process (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Breakwell, 1993; Brewer, 1991; Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012; Verkuyten, 2016; Vignoles, Chryssochoou, & Breakwell, 2002; Zou et al., 2008). The position adopted in the aforementioned social identity theory, "meaningful intergroup discrimination could enhance one's self-concept", suggests other motives apart from self-esteem: such as the purpose of constructing an identity and the motivation for constructing a distinct identity (Vignoles et al., 2000, 2006). Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell (2002) attempted to examine motives that might influence the identity process. They adopted four motives from identity process theory, namely self-esteem, efficacy, continuity and distinctiveness (Breakwell, 1993), and another two motives from other studies, namely purpose and closeness (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Brewer, 1991). They recruited Anglican clergy as participants to rate the extent to which the six motives might predict the perceived centrality of identity. Their results supported the thesis that the motives from identity process theory: efficacy, continuity and distinctiveness, could contribute to participants' perceived centrality to an extent similar to that of self-esteem. However, closeness and purpose provided only a moderate improvement to the model fit and the outcomes of these two motives were less likely to be concluded. Yet, their research has laid a groundwork to signify that there are motives other than self-esteem shaping people self-concept during the identity process.

Later, Vignoles and colleagues (2006) enhanced Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell's (2002) research to name the motives to construct identity as identity motives, and provided the definition of identity motives: the motivational processes that guide identity construction by providing impetus towards certain identity states while diminishing others. They criticised two weaknesses in Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and

Breakwell's (2002) paper. From a theoretical perspective, the adaptation of purpose and closeness motives did not have enough support from previous literature, given that closeness and purpose contributed marginally to the identity process. From a methodology perspective, the sample representation of recruiting only Anglican clergy was a concern. As Christian priests, those participants may have a stronger sense of purpose to be clergy and a higher feeling of closeness among the in-group than that of other populations in a society. The results in Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell's (2002) paper may fall into a context-specific adaptation that applies specifically to the clergy population.

Vignoles and colleagues (2006) addressed the above limitations to test a slightly different set of identity motives in various contexts to enhance the diversity of the sample. Similarly to Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell (2002), they adopted the four motives from identity process theory. However, they replaced the purpose and closeness motives with meaning and belonging, since they found these two motives to have a stronger theoretical background than that of purpose and closeness. Vignoles and colleagues (2006) extended the diversity of the sample to recruit participants from diverse cultures, individualist and collectivist, and also from various occupations with wider age ranges. Their research results showed that, in the cognitive dimension, participants perceive the elements of their identity as more central when such elements could satisfy identity motives. In the behavioural dimension, participants are more likely to enact such elements to increase identity satisfaction in the presence of both real and imagined audiences. Similarly to Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell's (2002) results, Vignoles and colleagues (2006) could find identity motives other than self-esteem in shaping the processes of identity construction. In contrast to that of Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell (2002), the findings in Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) paper are more convincing. The six identity motives are supported by a stronger theoretical background

than those in the former paper. The sampling is more representative as participants were from various backgrounds, cohorts, and cultures, and with different social roles. Also, their research is able to delineate the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity structure. The identity motives have influences on perceived centrality, in the cognitive dimension, and identity enactment, in the behavioural dimension. For these reasons, the results of Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) research are more robust than that of Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell (2002), demonstrating that Vignoles and colleagues (2006) are more able to conclude the six identity motives, namely self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning, and belonging.

1.1.1 Definition of Identity Motives

Vignoles (2011) later refined Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) definition of identity motives when he developed motivated identity construction theory. He included cognitive and behavioural dimensions to define identity motives as: "tendencies toward certain identity states and away from others, which guide the processes of identity definition and enactment" (p. 405). Motivated identity construction theory proposes that, in the cognitive dimension, perceived centrality represents the extent of the importance of a certain aspect of identity. People perceive the aspects of their identity as more central and self-defining when such aspects could satisfy their identity motives. In contrast, people perceive those aspects as marginal when such aspects frustrate identity motives. Behaviourally, identity enactment represents self-presentation of identity in social interaction. People display higher psychological well-being when their behaviour is consistent with their identity (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Vignoles, 2011). Compared to the definition proposed by Vignoles and colleagues (2006), Vignoles' (2011) definition of identity motives is more comprehensive that comprises cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity structure.

Therefore, this thesis adopts Vignoles' (2011) definitions of identity motives which are shown below:

- Self-esteem motive refers to the motivation to maintain and increase the positive self-concept.
- Efficacy motive refers to the motivation for maintaining the feelings of self-efficacy that one is competent and able to control over the environment or situation.
- Continuity motive is a need to maintain a steady identity across time and situation. The sense of continuity could be maintained by denying change, or by constructing a positive identity through life stories of progressions and turning points.
- Distinctiveness motive refers to the motivation to establish a unique identity to differentiate self from others.
- Meaning motive is oriented towards finding significance or purpose in one's identity that makes one feel his/her existence is meaningful.
- Belonging motive refers to the need to maintain and enhance closeness to and acceptance by other people, and at the same time, avoid being rejected.

1.1.2 Dynamics of Identity Motives

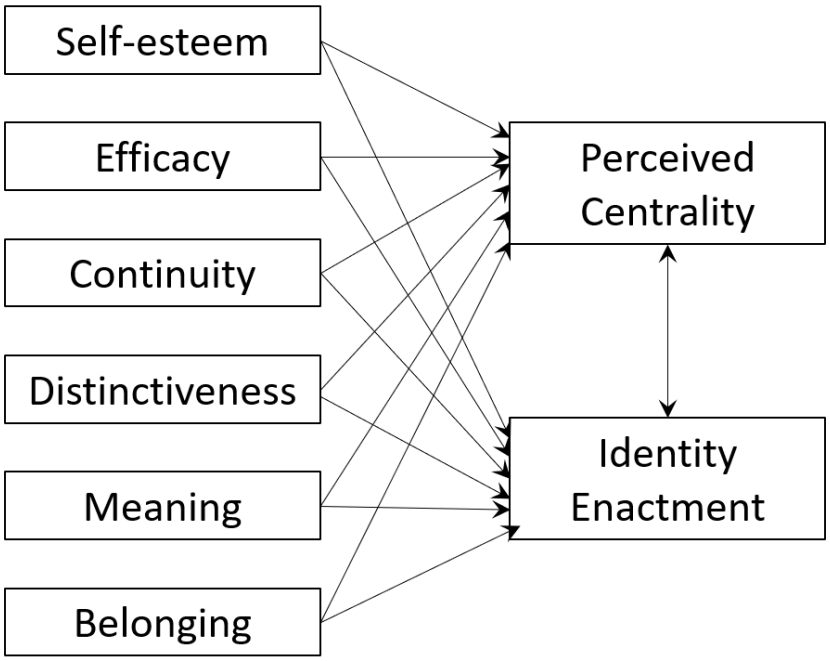
Vignoles (2011) considers a model of identity motives is needed to demonstrate the dynamics of multiple motives in combination. He argues that previous research has generally looked at the contribution of separate motives but disregarded the interaction among them (Gregg et al., 2011). For instance, people perceive information which is consistent with their prior self-view as trustworthy to satisfy the continuity motive, despite such information having a negative impact on their self-esteem (Swann et al., 1987). In

another example, people's motivation to identify with a social group is reduced if their distinctiveness is undermined, notwithstanding the fact that identification with such a group could increase self-esteem (Brewer et al., 1993). These two examples show that people display a higher motivation to maintain the motives for continuity and distinctiveness than the self-esteem motive. These examples back up the basic argument in the research on identity motives that self-esteem is not the only motive contributing to identity processes. Under some circumstances, the contributions of other motives to identity processes are even beyond the self-esteem motive (Vignoles et al., 2006). When examining a mixture of motives, different patterns of motivational influence emerge, demonstrating that a model consisting of the six identity motives is needed to show the interplay of multiple motives in shaping identity. Vignoles (2011) drew on the findings in Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) research to develop an integrated theoretical model, motivated identity construction theory. As shown in Figure 1, the model illustrates the conceptualisation of motivational influences on cognitive and behavioural processes. In the cognitive dimension, people perceive the aspects of identity as central when these aspects could satisfy their identity motives. In the behavioural domain, they enact identity elements to make desirable identities available through communication processes (Vignoles, 2011). The paths and strengths of identity motives in predicting perceived centrality and identity enactment differed between various sociocultural environments (Vignoles et al., 2006). Vignoles's (2011) Motivated identity construction theory illustrates the basic conceptual framework that people are generally motivated to display the self-defining aspects of identity to fulfil their identity needs.

A growing number of studies has examined online identity when the internet technology enables users to construct the presentation of self on online platforms (Manzi et al., 2018). Early literature has suggested that people constructed an online identity that was

incongruent with the offline self (Bóveda-Lambie & Lambeth, 2018). In contrast, Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin (2008) found Facebook users tended to display a congruent online and offline identity. Zhao and colleagues (2008) explained that the anonymous or non-anonymous online environments could influence the motivation to construct a congruent or incongruent identity. The environment of social media is non-anonymous, as opposite to anonymous, that motivate people to construct a congruent identity (Bóveda-Lambie & Lambeth, 2018; Zhao et al., 2008). Recently, Selim and colleagues (2014) and Manzi and colleagues (2018) attempted to examine the motivational influence on identity construction on social media. However, a model to illustrate the relationships between the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions in identity construction in social media contexts is still lacking. This thesis will draw on motivated identity construction theory to establish a conceptual model that illustrates the motivational influences on identity construction on Facebook. Before going on to review literature on identity construction on social media, the following paragraphs will begin with the definition of social media, and then address the question of one identity or multiple identities on social media.

Figure 1. Illustration of motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011)



1.2 Identity Construction on Social Media: One Identity or Multiple Identities

Some early studies found that people constructed and displayed an online identity incongruent with the offline one. In contrast , Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin (2008) found that people generally presented a "realistic and honest" identity on Facebook (p. 1819). The inconsistent findings in previous research could be attributed to the arguments over anonymous and non-anonymous online environments. Zhao and colleagues (2008) explained that the non-anonymous context of Facebook placed constraints on claiming multiple identities. They have, however, not examined the motivation that drives people to construct a congruent identity. In this section, Zhao and colleagues' (2008) research and the question of the Facebook environment being anonymous or non-anonymous will be discussed. Before that, the paragraphs below will define what constitutes social media, and the definition of social media could explain Zhao and colleagues' (2008) conceptualisation of the Facebook environment.

1.2.1 Profile Defines Social Media

Social media is often discussed in mainstream psychological research on identity but rarely defined. For example, Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin (2008) failed to provide a definition of social media in their pivotal work about the non-anonymous nature of the social media context. (Zhao and colleagues' (2008) research will be discussed in the section below.) Some papers have more broadly considered online platforms which provide interactive communication as social media (Lin & Lu, 2011; Serrat, 2017). For example, a prominent scholar, Papacharissi, who has studied the social features of the internet since the mid-1990s, generally considers that "all media are social" (Papacharissi, 2010, p. 309). For her, media foster communication and for this reason she asserts all

media to be social by definition. She discussed that some early media researchers employed the umbrella term computer-mediated communication to refer to all types of online new media, and the definition of such communication is a process of human communication via computers (Papacharissi, 2005). The present research argues that what Papacharissi has discussed is general web-based communication, which cannot solely define social media. boyd and Ellison (2008), however, could go beyond the basic definition to include the major feature, the Profile, as defining social media. They refer to social media as online platforms which allow users to 1) construct a public or semi-public personal Profile that consists of user-supplied content; 2) articulate a list of users with whom they have an online and/or offline connections, which can be viewed and traversed by others; and 3) consume, produce, and/or interact with streams of user-generated content provided by their connections on the site (boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 211). The Profile is similar to a homepage, on which users can actively construct a representation of how they want to be identified. This is an important feature that distinguishes social media from other computer-mediated communication platforms. Papacharissi later co-authored an article with Quinn adopting boyd and Ellison's (2008) definition of social media broad enough to encompass most forms of social media today (Quinn & Papacharissi, 2014). This thesis also adopts boyd and Ellison's (2008) definition of social media.

As a technological iteration, the interface of Facebook Profiles has evolved to be a dynamic combination of contents (O'Reilly, 2007). The presentation of the self on Facebook is more than inputting biographical data and uploading a photo as a Profile Picture. Users can also create posts on Facebook Walls to enrich the presentation of the self. They can show daily activities in multimedia format to create an impression of who they are. The construction of identity on Facebook has become multidimensional (Ellison & boyd, 2013). Advanced mobile technology facilitates the enactment of identity. Users

with limited computer proficiency could be able to master smartphones to go online (Barker, 2012). They can frequently update their personal data and instantly upload materials to Facebook Walls to display the aspects of identity they perceive as central (Bóveda-Lambie & Lambeth, 2018). To display one's identity on a Profile Picture and Facebook Wall becomes simplified with smartphone use. A user's Profile exposes their identity work to a list of multiple audiences from various social circles. Users' identity becomes more transparent in such environment. Therefore, the Profile is an important feature to define social media as it provides a stage for identity construction (McConnell et al., 2017; Quinn & Papacharissi, 2014), also making users less likely to construct multiple identities (Zhao et al., 2008).

1.2.2 Social Media Context: Anonymous or Nonymous

For more than a decade, one of the most significant discussions is to what extent offline and online identity construction overlap (Zhao et al., 2008). Early studies on online identity construction found an online disinhibition effect whereby people pretended to be someone else or acted out their underlying negative impulses more frequently or intensely in an online environment compared to offline (Rheingold, 1995; Suler, 2004; Surratt, 1998; Turkle, 1995). Early literature has mostly perceived that, in offline contexts, face-to-face interaction and shared knowledge of each other's social background placed constraints on the possibilities of claiming an identity inconsistent with their physical and personal characteristics. In contrast, online platforms provided an anonymous environment, where people could create a dissociative identity that was different from everyday life (Goffman, 1959; Suler, 2004). Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin (2008) agree with the perspective in early studies that anonymity drives people to create an online identity different from their offline one. They argue, however, that social media are

established as non-anonymous in nature. As mentioned above, identity work on Profiles and activities across the online platform are exposed to multiple audiences from diverse social circles. Zhao and colleagues (2008) examined identity construction on Facebook, which they perceived as non-anonymous. They found that Facebook users displayed an identity which was more socially desirable than that of their offline identity; however, the identity was generally "realistic and honest" (p. 1830). The research outcomes demonstrated that users tended to construct a congruent identity on Facebook, in contrast to the findings in early studies conducted in anonymous online platforms. Zhao and colleagues (2008) explained that the non-anonymous environment has restricted the possibilities of constructing an online identity which differed from the offline self. They used "nonymity" to describe the non-anonymous online environment of social media platforms. The conceptualisation of nonymity can be explained by boyd and Ellison's (2008) definition of social media. Taking Facebook as an example, users display personal information on Profiles to tell others who they are. Users articulate a list of Facebook Friends, whom they have known offline, or met online through mutual Facebook Friends. Also, users can view Friends' Facebook interaction with other users. In the nonymous environment, Facebook users have knowledge of one another's social background to a certain extent. As mentioned above, Facebook Profile delivers the presentation of self to multiple audiences that leaves users little room to construct an incongruent identity (Ellison & boyd, 2013; Zhao et al., 2008). Zhao and colleagues' (2008) research outcomes provide support to Zuckerberg's one identity view that people are less likely to build multiple identities on Facebook.

Zhao and colleagues (2008) found Facebook users gave out a socially desirable identity which was "realistic and honest". The outcomes, however, suggest an unanswered notion in their paper that the "realistic and honest" identity may have a continuum from

more socially desirable or less socially desirable. People evaluate the different aspects in their identity and enact the more socially desirable aspects. This argument suggests that the central aspects of people's identity is fluid rather than a fixed one (Papacharissi, 2010). In addition, the motivation that drives people to present certain aspects of their identity has not been examined in Zhao and colleagues' (2008) research paper. The following section is going to review two recent papers, which attempted to understand the motivational influence on identity construction on social media

1.3 Motivational Influence on Identity Construction on Social Media

Selim, Long and Vignoles (2014) and Manzi and colleagues (2018), similarly, intended to examine the motivational influence on identity construction on social media. They both focused on identity motives; however, their methodologies were different. The former paper employed qualitative analysis as the researchers adopted the perspective that people may not admit to or be aware of their underlying motives to construct and present their identities (Vignoles et al., 2008). The latter paper employed quantitative methods and aimed to measure the extent to which people perceived that the features in Facebook Profile could satisfy their identity motives. The following paragraphs will begin with the research of Selim and colleagues (2014), then of Manzi and colleagues (2018).

1.3.1 Underlying Motivation to Construct Identity

Selim, Long, and Vignoles (2014) drew on motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) as a conceptual framework to explore if the six identity motives, namely self-esteem, continuity, distinctiveness, belonging, efficacy, and meaning, existed in users' tweets on Twitter. They collected tweets among United Kingdom (UK) and Saudi Arabia (Saudi) users and conducted thematic analysis to categorise and compare identity motives

in tweets in the two cultures. Their research was able to identify the six identity motives in the tweets in both cultures. Also, there were similarities and differences in users' presentation of identity motives in both cultures. The similarities were that, in both cultures, motives of self-esteem, efficacy and meaning were most frequently identified. It is not surprising that these three motives could be highly identified. Previous research has considered that self-esteem was the fundamental motivation on identity construction, and a great sense of meaning and efficacy in life could enhance happiness (Vignoles et al., 2006). Meanwhile, Selim and colleagues (2014) found that the continuity motive was least prominent in both cultures. They attributed the finding to the structural features of Twitter. Unlike Facebook, the environment of Twitter implies a 'here and now' (p.130) focus that does not particularly encourage reminiscence. The technological interface of Twitter could possibly impede the presentation of a continuing identity. They suggested that testing identity motives on Facebook might find different outcomes.

In the meantime, Selim and colleagues (2014) found cultural differences on distinctiveness and belonging motives. The motive of distinctiveness was most prominent among Saudi users, whereas belonging was most prominent among their UK counterparts. Selim and colleagues (2014) explained the findings from the perspective that social media users could remain anonymous or claim a different online persona from that in offline contexts (Suler, 2004). People enact the aspects of identity which are frustrated in the offline context since they could conceal or change their online identity (Brewer & Roccas, 2001). Selim and colleagues (2014) mentioned that the collectivistic nature of Saudi culture focuses more strongly on the interdependent self than the independent self. This offline culture may prompt Saudi users to satisfy the distinctiveness motive through online platforms. On the other hand, the offline individualistic culture in the UK may drive those users to satisfy the belonging motive in an online context (Al-Namlah et al., 2006). Selim

and colleagues (2014) believe that their findings are able to support their claim in the work of identity motives that those motives are universal, as they could find all six motives in both UK and Saudi cultures; however, people in different cultures pay attention to different motives (Vignoles, 2011; Vignoles et al., 2006). Furthermore, they concluded that their findings could be able to distinguish online identity motives from those offline.

Nevertheless, the present research argues that their assumption whereby people could conceal or change their offline identity to remain anonymous in online contexts is problematic. As discussed above, a Profile discloses users' personal information, and the overlapping social connections place constraints on claiming an incongruent identity. Unless people intend to open alternative accounts under pseudonyms, they are less likely to construct an incongruent identity in the nonymous social media environment (Dahlberg, 2001; Zhao et al., 2008). Given this, their conclusion about differences between online and offline identity motives is least convincing.

Other problems with Selim and colleagues' (2014) study lie in their methodology. They set out to study on Twitter even though they had noticed that studying identity on such a platform would be problematic in light of the limited opportunity for identity construction, given that they suggested that studying other social media, such as on Facebook, might find different identity motive patterns. The second problem is that they failed to report how frequency and prominence of those themes were evaluated. For example, they mentioned: '*among Saudi users, distinctiveness was more prominent as an identity motive, while for UK users, belonging was pursued more frequently*' (p.130). To report frequency, objective figures should be reported. On the other hand, prominence could involve semantic interpretation from the authors' perspective. It would be more useful to report the evaluation of frequency and prominence in their paper. If they had

addressed the above limitations, their conclusions about online identity motives differing from that in the offline environment would have been more convincing.

The weaknesses mentioned above do not detract from the overall contribution of Selim, Long, and Vignoles's (2014) study to the literature on identity motives. Thus far, their paper is among the first few qualitative analyses, drawing on motivated identity construction theory, to explore the underlying motives of identity construction on social media. Their findings provided evidence that identity motives existed in the discourse on social media and provided groundwork for the present research project on identity enactment through discourse on social media.

1.3.2 Identity Motives and Facebook Profiles

In a similar vein, Manzi and colleagues (2018) conducted a cross-cultural research to examine identity motives on social media to recruit participants from collectivist and individualist cultures. However, their conceptualisation of social media and methodology were different from that of Selim, Long and Vignoles (2014). Manzi and colleagues (2018) took a similar perspective to Zhao and colleagues (2008) that the social media environment is nonymous, and Facebook Profile is an instrument for displaying identity to different social groups simultaneously.

They employed quantitative methods to recruit community sampling for cross-generational and cross-cultural analysis. Participants were from collectivist (Italy) and individualist (Chile) cultures and divided into younger and older adults. They tested four out of six identity motives, namely self-esteem, efficacy, continuity and belonging. These four motives were computed as a single item to evaluate the satisfaction of identity motives. Manzi and colleagues (2018) further examined identity exploration to predict Facebook use. Identity exploration refers to the deliberation of seeking and processing

information associated with the self to develop one's identity (Flum & Kaplan, 2006). Manzi and colleagues (2018) operationalised identity exploration as the extent to which Facebook Profile allowed participants to test a different way of being oneself and explore new aspects of oneself. They operationalised Facebook use as the frequencies of posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures and computed the two items as a single variable, Facebook use. The measures of identity exploration, and frequencies of posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures will be used in the present research. More details and justification will be discussed.

To synthesise Manzi and colleagues' (2018) results, this thesis discuses two major findings. They found that, regardless of age, the four identity motives could significantly predict Facebook use in both cultures. Previous research has found equivocal results on age and culture differences in motivation for social media use (Barker, 2012; de Vries & Kühne, 2015). A number of studies have conceptualised the motivation from instrumental perspective, for instance using social media for socialising or entertainment (Park et al., 2009). Although some other studies attempted to investigate identity work, many of them have focused on management of identity, such as self-presentation or self-expression (Bouvier, 2015). In other words, previous literature has generally ignored the motivation driving identity processes on social media until Manzi and colleagues (2018) scrutinised Facebook use that could satisfy identity motives. In Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) pivotal research, they perceive identity motives as core motives to construct identity. Manzi and colleagues' (2018) findings support their claim that no age and cultural differences in identity motives are found. Another finding is that Manzi and colleagues (2018) examined identity exploration but could not find it as a predictor of Facebook use. They explained that the Facebook Profile is like a mirror of offline identity (Back et al.,

2010). This may affect the motivation to explore other aspects of identity (boyd, 2010; O'Reilly, 2007).

Nevertheless, the present research argues against their explanation of the lack of significant findings on identity exploration and Facebook use. To begin from the point of view of methodology, their recruitment of high school students and their parents as participants to study identity exploration may be a concern. The bonding among their participants may be too close to consider identity exploration on Facebook. Another point is made regarding the measurement of Facebook use. Manzi and colleagues (2018) computed the two items of Facebook use, posting on Walls and changing Profile Pictures, as a single indicator, which is problematic. From the operational point of view, the constructs of these two items may be related to a limited extent. A Profile Picture allows a single image as a default photo to show users' central identity across Facebook network. Users tend to make a careful choice of Profile Picture to give a good first impression to others (Strano, 2008; Winston, 2013). In contrast, posting on Facebook Wall can be more versatile including sharing news, posting long paragraphs, and uploading photos and videos. From the statistical point of view, Manzi and colleagues (2018) found that the correlations between posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures are strikingly low (r = 0.30, 0.38, 0.39 and 0.52 in four groups, two age groups in two cultures). The outcomes indicate that the two items may have similar constructs, but they should not be computed as a single indicator. Accordingly, posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures will be measured as separate items in the present research.

Another major weakness of Manzi and colleagues' (2018) paper is the lack of a clear conceptual framework to delineate the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity construction. According to motivated identity construction theory, the six identity motives are core motivations to predict perceived centrality in the cognitive

dimension, and identity enactment in the behavioural outcome (Vignoles, 2011). Although Manzi and colleagues (2018) perceived identity motives as the motivational influence to predict Facebook identity work, they made no attempt to theorise identity exploration as a cognitive process and Facebook use as a behavioural outcome of identity enactment. This thesis argues that their study has failed to dismantle a structural prediction on the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction. Furthermore, as stated above, motivated identity construction theory is developed to outline the unique path and strength of each motive to predict perceived centrality and identity enactment, as well as to demonstrate the dynamics of multiple motives in the formation of the complexity of identity construction (Vignoles, 2011). The way Manzi and colleagues (2018) computed the four identity motives as a single indicator cannot determine the contribution of individual motives and the dynamics of multiple motives in combination. Their findings would have been more useful if they had attempted to establish a framework that could unpack the motivational influence on the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity structure, and to uncover the unique involvement of motives.

Both Selim and colleagues (2014) and Manzi and colleagues (2018) examined identity motives in collectivist and individualist cultures whereby their studies contributed significantly to the cross-cultural literature that identity motives may be universal (Vignoles et al., 2006). However, there has been no detailed investigation of identity motives in bicultural context, for example Hong Kong, a city incorporated with Chinese collectivist and Western individualist cultures. Although Chinese values are emphasised in the socialisation processes in Hong Kong, the city implements the Western systems in the education, legal and economic aspects. The people of Hong Kong are acculturated with Western lifestyles, and social beliefs and values (Hong et al., 2000). Hongkongers adopt

both Chinese collectivist and Western individualist cultures. Their sense of self will shift to be more connected to others when they are exposed to Chinese-related materials, whereas their sense of self will shift to be more separated from others when they are exposed to Western-related materials (Oyserman & Lee, 2008). Different cultures influence people's senses of self, and that determine motivation, cognition and behaviour (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Up to now, far too little attention has been paid to examining identity motives in the bicultural context. This thesis aims to conduct the present research project in the bicultural Hong Kong.

Moreover, in the existing literature, a model to illustrate the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity construction on Facebook is still lacking. This thesis aims to fill this gap. Unlike Manzi and colleagues' (2018) paper, the present research will adopt all six motives in the motivated identity construction theory as theoretical foundations to test a model. The following are the first three sets of hypotheses:

The first set of hypotheses is made to identity motives as the motivational influence, and perceived centrality as the cognitive dimension (Vignoles et al., 2006). It is predicted that the six identity motives are positively correlated (H1a), and they are positively correlated with perceived centrality (H1b).

The second set of hypotheses is proposed on identity exploration. Manzi and colleagues (2018) mentioned that identity exploration is "seeking and processing information about possible self content" (p. 82). This indicates that identity exploration is involved in cognitive process of identity-related information. This thesis theorises identity exploration as a cognitive process mediating motivational influences and identity enactment. It is postulated that identity exploration is positively correlated with the six identity motives (H2a). In addition, identity exploration is positively correlated with posting on Facebook Walls (H2b) and changing Profile Pictures (H2c).

The third set of hypotheses is made with regard to identity-related Facebook use. Unlike Manzi & colleagues' (2018) research, this research will separate Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures as two items. This thesis hypothesises that these two indicators as identity enactment in the behavioural dimension are positively correlated (H3a). People enact their identity on Facebook to satisfy their motives. This thesis predicts that Facebook Walls (H3b) and Profile Pictures (H3c) are positively correlated with the six identity motives. Also, the relationships between cognitive dimensions and these two indicators of Facebook identity enactment are formulated. It is hypothesised that Facebook Walls (H3d) and Profile Pictures (H3e) are positively correlated with perceived centrality. The prediction about identity exploration, Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures are put forward in the second set of hypotheses.

This thesis aims to study motivational influence on cognitive and behavioural dimensions. In the following paragraphs, two more variables are proposed for testing in the present conceptual model.

1.3.3 Cognitive Need to Process Information

The motivational drive of identity construction affects a wide range of outcomes, for instance, cognitive biases on information processing and self-presentation to enact existing self-conception (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Vignoles et al., 2006). The early history of personality and social psychology has suggested that people were motivated to organise personal relevant information in a meaningful structure to comprehend the world in a rational manner (Sarnoff & Katz, 1954). Cohen, Stotland and Wolfe (1955) intended to explore the notion of a need for cognition (NFC). NFC is defined as a dispositional tendency to engage in and enjoy effortful thinking (Zhong et al., 2011). They examined the extent of intolerance of ambiguity within a series of hypothetical situations. In contrast

with their assumption, there is no significant result on the motivation to clarify ambiguity between participants with high and low NFC. For Cacioppo and Petty (1982), the need for cognition is a motivational tendency to cognitively process personal relevant information (Bransford & Johnson, 1972; Schweisberger et al., 2014; Tyler & Cook, 1984; Winter et al., 2015). They criticised Cohen, Stotland and Wolfe's (1955) research for using researcher-designed hypothetical vignettes, which participants might not find personally relevant enough to make an effort to clarify them. Cacioppo and Petty (1982) developed a Need for Cognition Scale to measure people's propensity to engage in complex thinking (Zhong et al., 2011). People with low NFC tend to have low intrinsic motivation to engage in effortful cognitive endeavours. They are more likely to be influenced by peripheral cues of information. On the contrary, people with high NFC are more motivated to scrutinise information thoroughly and more likely to be influenced by a central route of information (Cacioppo et al., 1996; Haugtvedt et al., 1992).

Research on NFC has extended from the offline to the online environments; however equivocal findings were yielded. Braverman (2008) examined NFC and online information use and found significant differences in cognitive information processing among people with low and high NFC. People with low NFC are likely to be emotionally involved in a testimonial message. In contrast, people with high NFC are motivated to engage in cognitive endeavours. They are not instantly persuaded until searching for more information (Haugtvedt et al., 1992). When the scope of services of social media has expanded, the motivation to use Facebook has largely extended from merely social and entertainment use to informational use (Park et al., 2009). A lot of news media have rushed to open free accounts to report news on Facebook (Müller et al., 2016). While Facebook users should have more opportunities to obtain information from different perspectives, users tend to follow news media based on their preferences to reinforce existing beliefs

(Bakshy et al., 2015). This may explain the aforementioned research showing that people perceive information which is consistent with their existing self-view as trustworthy to fulfil the continuity motive (Swann et al., 1987). Moreover, Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall (2010) found participants selectively exposed themselves to news that may enhance self-esteem. These research outcomes suggest that identity motives may be associated with cognitive bias on information processing and have an impact on behaviour. To the present researcher's best knowledge, the relationship between NFC and identity motives has not been tested in the Facebook environment. The present research proposes to test NFC as one of the variables on the cognitive dimension. People with low NFC respond highly in personal involvement in the information (Braverman, 2008; Green & Brock, 2000). They may be more motivated to construct their identity to satisfy their identity motives. The fourth set of hypotheses predicts a negative correlation that participants with low NFC is associated with high identity motives (H4a) and posting more on Facebook Walls (H4b) as they may have a higher motivation to spend time on constructing an identity on Facebook.

1.3.4 Behavioural Dimension on Smartphone Use

Advanced mobile technology reinforces high participation on social media and that may motivate identity work. Smartphone refers to a mobile device combining telephone and computer functions with the use of mobile *apps* (a shortened term for applications). As only basic skills are needed to master a smartphone, people can easily access social media regardless of their prior knowledge of computer use (Ariel & Avidar, 2015). Smartphone use has been increasingly integrated to modern day life (J. Liu, 2010). Global Mobile Consumer Trend conducted a worldwide survey on smartphone usage and found that around 80% respondents in 95% of the sampling countries reported owning a smartphone,

and more than half of them were on a higher speed mobile data network (Deloitte, 2017). This shows a global trend of high usage of smartphones and internet penetration speed. Previous literature has revealed that technological determinism plays a role in people's engagement in social networking (boyd, 2010). The mobile applications support social media functions to facilitate self-presentation and social connection. Taking Facebook as an example, users can update their Profiles and upload their daily activities to Facebook Walls as frequently as they like. Users are able to make instant responses to one another's Facebook posts. These responses can be feedbacks of the popularity of one's identity work (Winter et al., 2015). Users may adjust the presentation of self and explore other possible aspects of identity more easily through smartphones. This thesis will examine smartphone use to understand the behavioural outcome in the construction of identity.

The present research postulates the fifth set of hypotheses on smartphone use as a behavioural outcome. As delineated in the definition of smartphone, this device works on applications (apps) to perform functions similar to that on computers. Social media apps are useful to reach out to such platforms. Constructing identity on Facebook has become more user-friendly, for example people are able to instantly upload and share information to show central and explore possible self-defining identities (Zhao et al., 2008). It is hypothesised that smartphone use is positively associated with identity motives (H5a), perceived centrality (H5b) and identity exploration (H5c). Furthermore, the present study hypothesised that smartphone use is positively associated with other variables in the behavioural dimension, Facebook Walls (H5d) and Profile Pictures (H5e) since smartphone is a handy means to access to Facebook. In addition, another hypothesis is formulated on smartphone use and another variable in cognitive dimension: need for cognition (NFC). It is predicted that smartphone use is negatively associated with NFC

(H5f) because this research predicts the negative relationships between NFC and motivational drive as well as identity enactment, as stated in the fourth set of hypotheses.

To sum up this chapter, social media can be defined by having Profiles and having social connection directly and indirectly with other users (boyd & Ellison, 2008). Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin (2008) describe the social media environment as nonymous, the opposite of anonymous, in which users' Profiles are visible to multiple users from diverse social connections that restricts the possibilities of claiming an incongruent identity (McConnell et al., 2017; Quinn & Papacharissi, 2014). Zuckerberg's one identity view may be explained by the nonymous environment, in which people are motivated to construct and present the central aspects of their identity on social media (Manzi et al., 2018). Previous research has started to examine the motivational influence on constructing identity on social media. Manzi and colleagues (2018) employed quantitative analysis to yield some significant relationships between the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural influences on identity work on Facebook. Yet they have not tested a model to predict the unique pathways of individual motives. This thesis aims to address the limitations of their research and fill the gap by establishing a conceptual model that illustrates how identity motives contribute to the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction. Five sets of hypotheses are formulated in this chapter to investigate the extent to which Facebook users perceived that their Profiles could satisfy their identity motives.

At the same time, this chapter has also reviewed Selim, Long, and Vignoles's (2014) study on identity motives on social media. Unlike Manzi and colleagues (2018), Selim and colleagues (2014) takes the perspective that people may not admit or be aware of the underlying motives driving identity construction (Vignoles et al., 2008). In this sense, they employed qualitative analysis to conduct an in-depth examination on the existence of

identity motives on Twitter. Their findings showed that the six identity motives existed in users' Tweets. Selim and colleagues' (2014) paper provides a framework to this thesis to explore the existence of identity motives in the discourse on social media. In this chapter, literature review has focused on the motivational influence on identity construction on Facebook Profiles. In next chapter, the literature review will focus on discussing the existence of identity motives in other parts of Facebook.

CHAPTER 2

Identity Motives, News Framing and Facebook Comments

Profile and social connection are major features with which to define social media (boyd & Ellison, 2008). In Chapter 1, the motivational influence on identity construction on Facebook Profiles has been discussed. Another characteristic of social media is the social connection. Facebook News Feed is a place full of social connections. In this chapter, the literature will focus on discussing the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity motives on the Facebook News Feed. One of the most frequently encountered types of post on Facebook News Feed is news related posts (Müller et al., 2016; Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). News media rush to open accounts on Facebook to reach and interact with Facebook's huge user network (Hille & Bakker, 2013). On News Feed, Facebook users can see all kinds of activities from other users, including news media posts. Framing news stories with catchy short descriptions and personal relevant news headlines is one of the ways to attract Facebook users' attention among many posts on News Feed (Zheng, 2014). Previous literature has examined framing effects on people's cognitive processes. For example, people lend more credence and have a better recall rate on news which is framed in such a way as to evoke existing self-conceptions (Shrauger, 1975; Vignoles, 2011). Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall (2010) found that participants selectively exposed themselves to news stories which supported their existing attitude, to enhance their self-esteem. Those findings suggest that news stories which are framed to appeal to identity motives, such as evoking existing self-conceptions (continuity) and increasing self-esteem, could draw people's attention. Yet, how news media appealed to

identity motives in their news framing has been largely ignored in the existing literature. This thesis aims to close the research gap by answering this question.

Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall's (2010) research outcome, furthermore, suggest another notion about how motivational influence could have an impact on behavioural outcomes. The way participants selectively exposed themselves to the news stories in their study is a behavioural response to the news stories (Knobloch-Westerwick & Hastall, 2010). Holton, Lee and Coleman (2014) have found some patterns of news framing and people's responses in their qualitative study. This thesis argues the major weakness in their research is that they did not have a solid theoretical framework to back up their findings. The patterns they found have few theoretical contributions for understanding the phenomenon. Previous research has found participation in news discussion could increase users' ego-gratifying (Reich, 2011), sense of connectedness (Pi et al., 2013), and perceived efficacy to influence others (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). These research findings have suggested that identity enactments of motives for self-esteem, belonging and efficacy. Vignoles and colleagues (2006) found that participants enacted the aspects of identity, to which they perceived as central. Nevertheless, up to now, there is too little published data on how Facebook users commented on news posts to satisfy their identity motives. In this light, the final aim of this thesis is to explore how Facebook users satisfied identity motives while responding to news framing.

In this chapter, the review of literature will focus on discussing the existence of identity motives on other parts of Facebook, apart from Profiles. This chapter begins by discussing framing and how the structural interface of Facebook may encourage news media to use framing on Facebook. Then, the discussion will focus on the examination of identity motives in news, and then Facebook users' identity enactment through commenting on corresponding news posts.

2.1 Framing Involves Cognitive Processes of Media Contents

2.1.1 The Conceptualisation of Framing

The term *framing* can be traced back to Goffman (1974), who is considered to be one of the first scholars to use this term to describe the schemata of interpretation that enables people to locate, perceive, identify and label life experiences (Simon & Xenos, 2000). He conceptualises framing as the association between the organisation of mental representation of an event and people's subjective involvement in it (Druckman, 2001). The paradigm of framing research has shifted from Goffman's (1974) social psychology point of view to a media and communication perspective, to focus more on media impact on audiences (Scheufele, 1999). For example, Entman is one of the highly cited scholars, who highlighted the analysis of communication contents in framing analysis, and incorporated quantitative and qualitative content analysis to study framing (Entman, 1991, 1993; Giles & Shaw, 2009). For him, framing 'is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation' (Entman, 1993, p.52). Similarly, previous studies in communication often conceptualise framing from the media perspective to define it as the selection, emphasis and presentation of events (Gitlin, 1980), subtle alterations in the presentation of an event (Iyengar, 1991) or discursive devices (Pan & Kosicki, 2003). The early paradigm of communication research has largely conceived framing from the perspective of the impact media made on audiences (McQuail, 1994).

2.1.2 Framing is a Co-construction of Reality

More recently, the paradigm has shifted to take on the ontology of social constructivism, which is close to Goffman's (1974) pivotal conceptualisation of framing (Scheufele, 1999). Social constructivism emphasises both media and individuals' contribution parallel to the meaning construction of an event. Media employ discourse devices to present the media-constructed reality to audiences. At the same time, audiences comprehend the event based on their experiences, schemata, social interactions, and psychological predispositions. On the one hand, the media could have a significant impact on shaping the reality by underlining certain parts of an event as if that is the whole story. On the other hand, social cognition and individual characteristics affect how people make sense of such event (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; McQuail, 1994). Giles and Shaw (2009) agreed that framing is a co-construction of reality between media and audiences. They further pointed out that audiences are active players in constructing the reality. Therefore, the psychological elements in framing should not be ignored as framing involves audiences' cognitive evaluation on the media contents. This thesis takes the psychosocial cognition perspective into account to conceptualise framing as a co-construction of meaning between media and audiences (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Giles & Shaw, 2009; Goffman, 1974; McQuail, 1994).

2.2 Facebook Encourages News Framing

2.2.1 Traditional News Media on Facebook

The use of social media has become prevalent, and Facebook is one of the most popular social media, with about two billion monthly active users worldwide in early 2017 (Nicolai et al., 2017). Opening accounts on Facebook is free, and news media can enjoy the free services to reach a diverse mix of user networks when reporting news on

Facebook. Traditional news media rushed to open accounts on such online platforms to have the advantage of reporting news there (Hille & Bakker, 2013).

Traditionally, the impact of news media could be estimated by the portion of a newspaper's market share (Fu et al., 2011). This evaluation shows a holistic view of the popularity of a newspaper as a whole, but the popularities of individual contents are less likely to be understood. When news is reported on social media, the engagement rate of each post can be analysed (Davis et al., 2017; Usher-layser, 2016). News media can review which type of reporting styles could bring more feedback from social media users. For example, some devices, such as orienting headlines, rhetorical devices and narrative forms, are commonly used to frame the news (Druckman, 2001). News media can then determine the future direction for presenting news stories to engage more users (Winter et al., 2015). A common way news media report news on Facebook is that the news media create a Facebook post to inform users of the main points of the incident and embed a link with an image or a video of such news. If Facebook users are interested in the news story, they can click the link to visit the website of the news organisations to read more about the incident. This type of posts is named hybrid format, in which a part of the material takes place on Facebook whereas another part shows the contents of an external link (Hille & Bakker, 2013). Facebook users can see news posts created by news media and other users' responses to the news posts on their Facebook News Feed. Facebook algorithms determine what to show on users' News Feed based on the popularity of the posts. The more responses the posts received, the more likely the posts appear on other users' News Feed (C. Kim & Yang, 2017; Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). News stories which are framed with the catchy framing devices are more likely to attract Facebook users' responses, and that can bring more traffic to the websites of news media (Hille & Bakker, 2013).

2.2.2 Facebook Structural Interface Encourages Framing

2.2.2.1 Framing is a double-edged sword.

Framing can be a tool to trim down large volumes of information and complex stories in a more digestible manner to help readers to interpret the event, yet, it can also bias readers (Zhang, Jin, Stewart, & Porter, 2016). From a constructive point of view, framing works as a discursive device. Journalists offer their perspective through framing to activate readers' schema to comprehend the news story (Simon & Xenos, 2000). They also use framing to organise a news story in a succinct and comprehensible manner to make the central idea of an event more salient and meaningful for readers to understand and memorise (William A Gamson et al., 1992; Scheufele, 1999). Framing of news stories could have advantages in today's fast-paced society for busy readers to grasp the essence of the news story when the less important content is filtered out (Sieff, 2003).

Meanwhile, framing may bias readers, as even minor modifications in a single story could have an enormous effect (Holton et al., 2014). Although journalists are encouraged to practice objectivity in reporting events to avoid biases, their perceived reality could be affected by their existing schemata to make conscious or unconscious judgements about the events (Lee, 2016). News reported through their lens is framed to slant towards the journalists' perspective (Holton et al., 2014). Framing works through cognitive priming to influence readers' attitudes, perception and interpretation of an event. This may trigger audiences' cognitive shortcut of heuristics to interpret the complexity of a news story (Entman, 2007; Gamson & Modigliani, 1994; McChesney, 2008; Shih, Wijaya, & Brossard, 2008).

2.2.2.2 Framing devices.

Two common devices used by news media to report mental health issues are syntactical framing (Sieff, 2003) and episodic framing (Zhang et al., 2016). According to Sieff (2003), syntactical framing presents news in an inverted pyramid structure. This device uses a salient headline to activate readers' existing mental representation. Readers are more willing to spend time on reading if they perceive the incident to be self-relevant. The newsworthy headline is followed by a strong lead paragraph written in a concise manner to steer readers towards thinking of the incident in a particular perspective (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). By reading the headline and lead paragraph, busy readers can quickly capture the main messages of the news. To the contrary, episodic framing is written in a lengthier and narrative storytelling manner to personify abstract issues. Episodic framing works through selective identification, presentation and promotion of personal stories, anecdotal incidents or individual cases as exemplification of issues. For Sieff (2003), news of mental health often includes the development and resolution of conflicts and personified characters, such as sufferers, caregivers or health professionals. Some papers argue that the anecdotal and personification approach may reinforce the cognitive biases of readers (Zhang et al., 2016). For instance, Sieff (2003) and Ma (2017), in the same vein, attribute people's negative attitude towards mental health issues to biased representation in media. Although journalists should practice objectivity to avoid biased accounts (J. Lee, 2016), their existing schemata may affect their perceived reality to make conscious or unconscious judgments on how to frame the event (Holton et al., 2014).

2.2.2.3 Facebook structural interface and Framing.

Previous research has largely ignored the fact that the structural interface of Facebook may encourage media to use syntactical framing. As mentioned, Facebook

allows for a hybrid format of Facebook posts whereby part of the material happen on Facebook and another part displays the contents of an external link (Hille & Bakker, 2013). News media generally present news in such a way as to identify the salient part of the story to present it to audiences (Scheufele, 1999). They create a Facebook post to write a succinct description of a news story and embed an external link to direct Facebook users to the media organisations' websites for a longer version of story. Zheng (2014) found that Facebook users tend to give up reading long news articles but skim through titles and stop to read those which are visually attractive and personally related. News posts appearing on Facebook users' News Feed which show captivating elements can capture Facebook users' attention in the shortest time. Facebook users can grasp the main ideas from the succinct description of the news story on their News Feed. When they are interested in reading more about the news story, they can click the external link to visit the media organisation's website. The presentation of news on Facebook is similar to a syntactical framing which emphasises a certain aspects of news events to activate Facebook users' existing mental representations. Where the syntactical framing devices could attract Facebook users to click the external link, there will be an increase of traffic to the media organisation's website (Hille & Bakker, 2013). Then, episodic framing may be used to present the news story on the news organisation's website. In this sense, the framing of news on Facebook is essential in a way as to catch Facebook users' attention and entice them into clicking the external link. This thesis argues that the structural interface of Facebook encourages news media to use framing devices to write a catchy short description of the news, and embed the external link to show personal relevant news headlines and lead paragraphs, and provocative images (Zheng, 2014). Facebook is one of the major online platforms for news consumption (Hermida et al., 2012; Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). The framing analysis

in this thesis will focus on news stories reported on Facebook. The following paragraphs will discuss the examination of framing in the existing literature.

2.3 News Framing Analysis

2.3.1 Contextual and Personal Relevant

Giles and Shaw (2009) criticised previous studies on media and communication that they have mainly examined framing from the perspective of how media narrative framed an event but overlooked the cognitive involvement of audiences. Some of the studies focused primarily on texts that overlooked the meaning of texts to readers. Others attempted to quantify media presentation materials at the expense of underlying meaning. Still more relied on generalised methods, which were not primarily developed for studying media materials. For example, some communication studies took the perspective that audiences are recipients of information, who could be easily manipulated by more competent agencies, but ignored the audiences' perception and interpretation of events (Edelman, 1993; Entman, 1993, 2007).

Also, Giles and Shaw (2009) argued that many psychological studies took people's cognitive involvement into account, but mostly those studies apparently conducted in a laboratory setting treated information as experimental manipulation. Giles and Shaw (2009) criticised those experimental studies for disregarding selective exposure to information in real life situations. By way of illustration, Tversky and Kahneman (1981) conducted a classic piece psychological research on framing and decision making. They recruited university students and distributed researcher-designed vignettes in classroom settings. They found that participants changed their decisions in response to different frames of scenarios (Giles & Shaw, 2009; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981; Wang, 1996). Tversky and Kahneman's (1981) methodology is pivotal in a way as to provide an

influential framework for later experimental research. Their experiment, however, conducted in laboratory setting, may be high in internal validity but low in ecological validity (Giles & Shaw, 2009). Those participants were not given the opportunity to screen out irrelevant or uninteresting messages, in contrast to news consumption in real life settings.

While people read news in daily life, cues of contextual information of the news story is always included. The role of relevant contextual knowledge in information comprehension could be referred back to the psychological roots of framing (Giles & Shaw, 2009). In 1972, Bransford and Johnson found that materials presented with relevant semantic information, such as a title or an image, yielded better comprehension and recall results than those without. Bransford and Johnson (1972) explained that the additional elements provided contextual information to participants, which were relevant to their schemata to improve comprehension and recall rates. In other words, relevant semantic information, which could provide meanings to participants, is a prerequisite for writers and readers to co-construct the knowledge of the events (Shih et al., 2008). Schweisberger and colleagues (2014) found that the different conditions in which people read the news story could affect the cognitive process of news consumption. Their findings showed that participants perceived news stories presented on social media as more personally relevant and having stronger personal influence than the news presented on other platforms. The research outcomes support the thesis that contextual information should also be taken into account when studying news framing (Schweisberger et al., 2014).

2.3.2 Cognitive Processing of Identification

Giles and Shaw (2009) addressed weaknesses in the existing framing analysis and developed Media Framing Analysis. Previous literature has shown that audiences

incorporated their psychological experiences to identify with characters in the story to comprehend events (Giles et al., 2009). Giles and Shaw (2009) proposed that people are motivated to read personally relevant information for identification. As proposed in transportation theory (Green & Brock, 2000), emotional immersion is a primary mechanism of narrative persuasion. People who identify with characters in the story are more likely to be emotionally involved to visualise themselves in a similar situation (Braverman, 2008). Characters in news are framed to resonate with readers' experiences that could create assimilation at a cognitive level to help readers comprehend the event (Giles et al., 2009). Giles and Shaw (2009) put forward reader identification in the theoretical framework of Media Framing Analysis to analyse elements in news stories that drew audiences to identify with them (Shaw & Giles, 2009).

Methodologically, Media Framing Analysis increases ecological validity to study authentic media materials. Furthermore, Giles and Shaw (2009) noticed that, during the selection process, some researchers select materials based on their own judgement that may induce researcher frames, or others collect excessive data including irrelevant materials. They considered, as proposed by Gamson (1992), that a meta-level framework is needed to examine the interplay between the macro-level of how media delivered news in the socio-cultural context and the micro-level of how people actively construct the meaning (Scheufele, 1999). On the macro-level, Giles and Shaw (2009) incorporate the concept of quantitative data collection into qualitative analysis to balance the limitation of material selection in previous qualitative research (Shaw & Giles, 2009). Media Framing Analysis proposes to identify data systematically and purposefully from a targeted range of media sources to overcome researchers' bias and excessive data collection. On the micro-level, in the sense of qualitative analysis, Media Framing Analysis explores the in-depth meaning of the materials from the framework of reader identification. Media Framing

Analysis shifts the framing paradigm from traditionally largely focusing on media contents to considering people's mental representation. As Media Framing Analysis is among the first framing analysis to include a psychological element, reader identification, in the analytical framework, this thesis will adopt this analysis to examine how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing.

2.3.3 Identity Motives Incorporate into News Framing Analysis

Although Media Framing Analysis incorporates reader identification into the analysis, it has still overlooked people's motivation to satisfy their identity, which may drive identification with personal relevant news. Knobloch-Westerwick and Meng (2009) conducted an experiment to examine selective exposure to attitude-consistent and counter-attitudinal online news stories. They found that participants selectively exposed themselves to and spent a longer time on reading news with attitudes consistent with those of the participants. One year later, Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall (2010) attempted to unpack the selective exposure phenomenon. They found that attitude-consistent news stories created cognitive congruence with participants' existing beliefs, and such cognitive processes enhanced self-esteem that drove participants to selectively expose themselves to and spend longer time on reading such news stories. Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall's (2010) research outcomes suggest that people are motivated to read news stories that are framed to make them good about themselves. A number of papers have demonstrated that people's motives shape their perceptions, attitudes and attributions to evaluate information in ways that confirm their desired conclusion (Erdelyi, 1974; Kunda, 1990; Miller & Ross, 1975). When news is presented in such a way as to evoke existing self-conceptions, people lend more credence and have a better recall rate (Shrauger, 1975; Vignoles, 2011). The present research takes the perspective that people are motivated to adopt an identity which

could enhance their self-esteem, continuity, distinctiveness, belonging, efficacy, and meaning (Vignoles et al., 2006). This thesis argues that news media reporting of news on Facebook to draw identity motives in news framing could have three advantages. News media can utilise the large social network. Facebook users read news with a consistent perspective on Facebook to satisfy self-esteem and continuity motives. Second, the highly interactive features allow users to discuss with other users to reinforce both belonging and distinctiveness that drives greater involvement in the content. Then, by adding description and leaving comments on news posts, they can act as opinion leaders to inform and influence others to increase the efficacy and meaning of news read on Facebook (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). In light of this, news stories framed to trigger motives for self-esteem, continuity, distinctiveness, belonging, efficacy, and meaning are likely to prompt reader identification with the news. Facebook users are more likely to read the news when the contents could prompt their identity motives (Basil & Brown, 1997). Nevertheless, the examination of identity motives in news framing is scarce in existing literature. This thesis aims to close the gap by exploring how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing. The present research strengthens Media Framing Analysis by integrating the six identity motives into the framework to study news framing. The framing analysis will be presented in Study 2, Chapter 5.

2.4 Identity Enactment through Facebook Commenting

2.4.1 The Active Role of Facebook Users

Early literature on mass communication largely perceived that audiences were passive receivers, whose opinions were heavily susceptible to media influence (Quan-Haase & Young, 2010; Yong, 2017). In contrast, the theory of uses and gratifications proposes that audiences are active users, who are motivated by their own needs to select

different information from various media to gratify their goals (Katz et al., 1974; Ko et al., 2005). The historical debate about the passive or active role of media users has continued through this digital age since the influence of computer engineering algorithms has raised some concerns (Zheng, 2014). Some papers consider social media users may have limited opportunities to receive diverse perspectives when the presence of information is manipulated by algorithms (Dean, 2012; DeVito, 2017). For example, Kramer, Guillory and Hancock (2014) manipulated posts on Facebook News Feed to show posts with either positive or negative emotions to examine the impact on Facebook users' emotions. The results showed that Facebook users tended to post fewer positive posts, but more negative posts when they were shown fewer emotionally positive posts. In contrast, users posted fewer negative posts, but more positive posts when they were shown fewer emotionally negative posts. Their research outcomes have raised a lot of attention as they filtered posts from a very large sample of 689,003 Facebook users, and more importantly, they showed that computer algorithms could influence human behaviours. Facebook users created certain kind of Facebook posts, emotionally positive or negative, beyond users' awareness (Usher-layser, 2016). Kramer, Guillory and Hancock's (2014) research outcomes may support the notion that audiences are passive receivers, whose behaviours are heavily susceptible to media influence.

On the other hand, Bakshy, Messing and Adamic's (2015) findings may support the idea in uses and gratifications theory that audiences are active users, who are motivated by their needs to selectively consume information to gratify their goals (Katz et al., 1974; Ko et al., 2005). Bakshy and colleagues (2015) examined passive and active roles of Facebook users in news reading behaviours. Unlike Kramer and colleagues (2014), Bakshy and colleagues (2015) did not manipulate any posts but collected natural behaviours of users on Facebook. They collected data from 10.1 million active Facebook users for a six-month

period and revealed that users tended to click on news posts with consistent perspectives, despite news posts with diverse perspectives being available on users' News Feeds. Bakshy and colleagues' (2015) research findings showed a different picture from that in Kramer and colleagues' (2014) study. The behaviour which Facebook users selectively clicked on news posts with consistent perspectives demonstrated that their motivation for reading certain kinds of posts surpassed the Facebook algorithm in news selection. Bakshy and colleagues' (2015) findings are convincing as they collected a very large dataset of users' natural behaviours for a certain period of time. Accordingly, their research is able to conclude that Facebook users are active audiences, as opposed to passive receivers. However, Bakshy and colleagues (2015) have not examined the motives that prompted Facebook users' behaviours. In the existing literature, very little is known about how Facebook users' behaviours could be influenced by identity motives. The present research project aims to examine how Facebook users satisfied their identity motives through commenting.

2.4.2 Facebook Comments can be Influential

In recent years, the theory of uses and gratifications has been widely accepted in the social media literature whereby social media users are active players who obtain, produce and share information to fulfil desires or needs (Manzi et al., 2018; Ngai et al., 2015). Unlike the situation before the development of social media that people relied heavily on mass media to publicise their opinions, nowadays, the invention of user-generated content empowers ordinary people participating in social media discussions to amplify the once unheard voices (Betton et al., 2015). Social media users have a profound role in shaping the narrative around events in the forms of bottom-up communication with news media and horizontal interaction with other users through commenting (Almoqbel et al., 2019). Li

and Sakamoto (2014) conducted experiments to imitate a social media environment to examine people's evaluation of and reaction to health-related statements. They found that participants' cognitive evaluation and behavioural outcomes were influenced by other users' opinions. In other words, Li and Sakamoto's (2014) findings indicate that commenting empowers social media users to have a greater sense of influencing the environment through self-expression on those online platforms. People tend to behave in ways consistent with their identity as identity enactment (Vignoles et al., 2008). Previous research has found different motivations for reading news on social media and the possibility of influencing others is one of them (Moreno et al., 2013). Li and Sakamoto's (2014) findings suggest that commenting can be a strategy of identity enactment which satisfies users' efficacy motive.

2.4.3 Identity Enactment through Commenting

Various studies have shown that an increased number of people in different cultures visit social media for news (Hermida et al., 2012). For example, surveys from both the West and Hong Kong have shown that social media are important platforms for receiving news (Müller et al., 2016). The Pew Research Centre found in 2018 that around two-thirds of US social media users read news on such online platforms (Almoqbel et al., 2019). A similar pattern was also found in Hong Kong, whereby almost 50% of respondents mainly read Facebook for breaking news (L. Lam, 2014).

One of the motivations for people reading news on Facebook is that Facebook allows commenting (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Holton and colleagues (2014) aimed to study news framing and commenting when social media has become a major source of news consumption. They conducted a qualitative study to investigate the interplay between the framing of health-related news and comments. They found that participants generally

picked up the news framing and gave responses showing similar perspectives conveyed in the news narrative. They could find the patterns of news framing and participants' responses; however, their research does not have a solid theoretical framework to back up their qualitative findings. The patterns Holton and colleagues (2014) found are categorisations of themes, which could not provide a theoretical explanation for news readers' behavioural responses to news framing. Their findings would have been more useful if they had adopted a theoretical framework. Previous research has demonstrated that participation in news discussion could increase users' sense of connectedness (Pi et al., 2013) and ego-gratification (Reich, 2011), as well as enhancing their perceived efficacy in influencing others (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). These findings in previous studies suggest that identity motives of belonging, self-esteem, and efficacy may guide people to engage in commenting. This thesis posits that news framing influences people's cognitive processes at the cognitive level, and, at the behavioural level, affects their responses to strive for certain aspects of self-perception that motivate identity-directed behaviour (Vignoles et al., 2008). Therefore, this thesis adopts Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory to explore identity motives responding to the news.

This thesis makes another criticism on Holton and colleagues' (2014) methodology that they should study commenting on social media, and Facebook in particular, instead of on news websites. Facebook's interface suggests a more reciprocal relationship between news media and users. The original post and comment section are rather proportionate, compared with other social media (Gruzd & Wellman, 2014). Previous research has suggested that Facebook users could satisfy their identity needs through information consumption, sharing and creation to recommend a certain part of the self to their social circles (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015; Schweisberger et al., 2014). During identity construction, satisfaction of identity motives drives positive emotions, whereas frustration

of identity motives induces negative emotions. People try to maximise satisfaction and minimise the frustration of identity motives (Vignoles, 2011). In the nonymous Facebook environment, users' comments on news posts appear on other users' New Feeds. Commenting can be a way of an identity enactment since the social connection from different social circles can see users' responses to the news. Holton and colleagues (2014) should have studied commenting on Facebook, the interface of which encourages discussion (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015).

As discussed in the previous chapter, Selim, Long, and Vignoles (2014) incorporated motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into their qualitative analysis framework for exploring how social media users satisfied identity motives through writing social media posts. The reason they employed qualitative research was for having an in-depth examination into the online discourse as they adopted the perspective that people may not admit to or be aware of own underlying motives to construct and present identities (Vignoles et al., 2008). This thesis, likewise, will conduct a qualitative study and incorporate motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into the present analytical framework. As shown in Study 3, Chapter 6, a deductive confirmation content analysis will be performed to explore how Facebook users responded to news framing for satisfying the motives of self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning, and belonging.

To sum up this chapter, traditional news media rush to social media to report news and to interact with users (Hille & Bakker, 2013). Facebook users can read various news posts on Facebook News Feed. They scroll through News Feed and stop to read news posts, which get their attention (Müller et al., 2016; Zheng, 2014). Giles and Shaw (2009) criticised the fact that previous research has largely ignored psychological involvement in the analyses of news framing. They developed Media Framing Analysis and incorporated

reader identification into the framework to examine how news stories were framed to prompt reader identification. This thesis, however, argues that Media Framing Analysis has not addressed the motivation which drives people to engage with the news stories. As suggested by Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall's (2010) research outcomes, news materials which appealed to motives for self-esteem and continuity might draw people's attention. Nevertheless, until now, little attention has been paid to understand how news media prompted news readers' identity motives to draw their attention to the news stories. This thesis aims to integrate identity motives into the Media Framing Analysis to investigate how news media evoked identity motives in news framing.

Facebook is a highly participatory online platform encouraging self-expression (Betton et al., 2015). Facebook users can directly and instantly comment on news posts when reading the news on the Facebook News Feed. Holton, Lee and Coleman's (2014) paper is one of the fewer studies that looks into the interplay between news framing and news readers' responses. This thesis, however, argues that the paucity of a framework in their research is a major weakness that detracts from a satisfactory exposition of news readers' behavioural responses to news framing. As the structural interface of Facebook allows user-generated content, Facebook users could have more opportunity to enact identity on social media by responding to news posts. Accordingly, Selim and colleagues (2014) found the existence of identity motives in social media users' discourse. In addition, previous research has suggested that motives for self-esteem (Reich, 2011), belonging (Pi et al., 2013) and efficacy (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015) might prompt identity enactment through commenting. Taken together, identity motives may influence how people respond to the news. Nevertheless, there is little published data on Facebook users' identity enactment through commenting. This thesis draws on motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) to fill the research gap by examining Facebook

comments aiming at satisfying identity motives while responding to news framing. So far, this chapter has reviewed previous literature on news framing and commenting on news stories. The major position of this thesis is that identity motives play an important role in influencing cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction. In next chapter, Chapter 3, the framework of the present research project will be proposed.

CHAPTER 3

Conceptual Framework

3.1 Motivational Influence on Identity Construction

Identity construction involves subjective psychological experience and self-presentation in a social environment (Vignoles, 2011; Vignoles, Chryssochoou, & Breakwell, 2000). The subjective mental representation of oneself is established through the interplay between cognitive evaluation of the self and the social environment (Niedenthal & Beike, 1997). Self-presentation is the enactment of central aspects of identity in the social environment (Vignoles et al., 2006). Although the motivational influence of identity construction had been studied for many years, Vignoles and colleagues (2006) criticised the fact that previous studies were unable to draw connections between theories, which provided limited theoretical support in the findings. They argued that two of the motives in Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell's (2002) research had limited theoretical support, and additionally that recruiting only clergy might affect the generalisation of the findings. Vignoles and colleagues (2006) addressed such limitations and integrated major theories of motivational identity construction, for instance, identity process theory (Breakwell, 1993), self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000), optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991), uncertainty reduction theory (Hogg, 2000) and self-affirmation theory (Steele, 1988) to identify six motives, namely self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning, and belonging. They theorised that people were motivated by the six identity motives to enact the aspects of identity which people evaluate as central and self-defining. Vignoles and colleagues (2006) tested the six motives in

different contexts and the results supported their hypotheses concerning the influence of the identity motives on identity definition processes. People are generally motivated to enact the central aspects of identity to satisfy the six motives. As their findings are supported by a stronger theoretical grounding and an improved methodology, the findings in their research are considered to be more robust than those in Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell's (2002) research.

Later, Vignoles (2011) integrated previous works on the identity motives, perceived centrality and identity enactment to establish motivated identity construction theory to illustrate the motivational influence on cognitive and behavioural dimensions. Motivated identity construction theory posits that identity is both a personal and a social construction, and is the outcome of complementary processes of identity definition and identity enactment (Vignoles, 2011). In the cognitive domain, people perceive the aspects of their identity as self-defining when the aspects could satisfy the motives of self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging. In the behavioural domain, they enact identity elements by showing the aspects of their central identity to both real and imagined audiences (Deci & Ryan, 2000). The concept of identity processes was illustrated by the example of the musician in Chapter 1: a person perceives his/her identity as a musician is central when the identity could satisfy the identity motives. That person enacts identity elements, such as performing music, to show the identity as a musician (Vignoles et al., 2000).

Another reason Vignoles (2011) established motivated identity construction theory is to illustrate the dynamics of multiple motives in combination. Vignoles (2011) argued that previous research has largely focused on the contributions of individual motives but overlooked the interaction among them (Gregg et al., 2011). Previous research has generally taken the perspective that identity processes are largely guided by the motive for

self-esteem (Gregg et al., 2011; Vignoles, 2011). However, Swann and colleagues (1987) found that participants perceived information which was consistent with their existing self-view as trustworthy to satisfy the continuity motive, although the information negatively affected their self-esteem. In another example, Brewer and colleagues (1993) found that participants perceived their group identity as less self-defining when identification with such as group frustrates the feeling of distinctiveness, although the group identity could increase self-esteem. These findings indicate that different patterns emerge when examining a mixture of motives. The influence of motives for continuity and distinctiveness on identity construction, beyond the influence of concerns for self-esteem. Vignoles (2011) considered establishing a model to illustrate the interplay of multiple motives in shaping identity is important. He proposed motivated identity construction theory to illustrate the idea that self-esteem is not the only motive that influence identity construction and the influence self-esteem creates may vary when testing it with other motives (Vignoles, 2011).

3.2 Identity Construction on Facebook Profile

The examination of identity motives has recently extended from offline contexts to online platforms. Social media are online platforms that support user-generated content. boyd and Ellison (2008) define social media as web-based services which allow users to 1) construct a public or semi-public personal Profile that consists of user-supplied contents; 2) articulate a list of users with whom they have online and/or offline connections, which can be viewed and traversed by others; and 3) consume, produce, and/or interact with streams of user-generated content provided by their connections on the site (boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 211). Their definition indicates two major features that define social media: Profile and social connection. Among social media platforms, Facebook is the most

popular one. Its multipurpose functions allow users to build their Profiles, on which users present the self to a diverse audience in their social networks (Ellison & boyd, 2013). Manzi and colleagues (2018) set out to examine identity motives, Facebook use and identity exploration on Facebook Profiles. They computed four motives: self-esteem, efficacy, continuity and belonging, as a single indicator to measure the satisfaction of identity motives, and computed the frequencies of posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures as a single indicator to measure Facebook use. They measured identity exploration in terms of the extent to which participants perceived that they could explore other aspects of self on their Profiles. Two major findings and limitations of Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research were discussed in Chapter 1. Their research found positive relationship between identity motive satisfaction and Facebook use. However, their results failed to acknowledge the unique contributions of individual motives. As elaborated in motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011), identity motives display a complex interplay in identity structure. The way Manzi and colleagues (2018) computed multiple motives as an indicator failed to illustrate the dynamic of the six motives in combination.

Another finding of Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research showed no significant relationship between identity exploration and Facebook use. This thesis criticises their analytical approach that, in the same vein, they computed the two items: posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures, as a single indicator to measure Facebook use is problematic. The privacy settings and the support of multimedia formats in of Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures are different. Facebook users are able to limit who can view their Facebook Walls. Also, the posts on Facebook Walls are versatile, including sharing news, posting long paragraphs, and uploading photos and videos. In contrast, a Profile Picture displays a single image as the first façade of users' presentation of self.

Users make a careful choice of Profile Picture to give a good first impression (Strano, 2008; Winston, 2013). Furthermore, from the statistical point of view, in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research, the two items: Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures, yielded considerable low correlation coefficients (r = 0.30, 0.38, 0.39 and 0.52 in four groups, two age groups in two cultures). Taken together, the constructs of these two items may be similar to a limited extent. The way Manzi and colleagues (2018) computed Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures as a single indicator of Facebook use may be attributed to the lack of a significant relationship between identity exploration and Facebook use in their paper.

Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research provided empirical evidence of motivational influence on Facebook identity work, however, this thesis argues that their research provided limited theoretical contributions to the existing literature as they made no attempt to test a model to delineate the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity work on Facebook. Another criticism is made to their operational sense of computing items as single indicators whereby failed to uncover the unique contributions of individual motives, and to yield significant relationships between identity exploration, posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures. The present research addresses the limitations in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research to examine the extent to which identity motives contribute to identity work on Facebook Profiles. From the conceptual sense of identity structure, the present research project proposes a model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, to illustrate the motivational influence on the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity construction on Facebook. From the operational sense, this research distinguishes the six identity motives, Facebook Walls, and Profile Pictures as separate items.

3.3 Motivational Facebook Identity Structure

Drawing on Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory, this thesis proposes a conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, shown in Figure 2. According to Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory, people construct their identity through a dynamic process of cognitive and social behaviours (Greenwald, 1980; Swann, 1983). This thesis proposes Motivational Facebook Identity Structure to delineate the structure of motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity work on Facebook. The present research predicts that the six identity motives are positively associated with one another, and each of the motives is positively associated with perceived centrality. The present research adopts two variables, posting on Facebook Wall and changing Profile Picture, from Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research for measuring identity enactment on Facebook. Motivational Facebook Identity Structure theorises that the six motives and perceived centrality are positively associated with Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures. As shown in Figure 2, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure theorises the six identity motives drive Facebook users to evaluate their central aspects of identity and enact such aspects through posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures.

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 1, Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin (2008) found that Facebook users tended to portray a "realistic and honest" (p. 1830) identity; however, such an identity was more socially desirable than the offline persona. Their research outcomes suggest that there may be a continuum of identity, on which people explore the different aspects of their "realistic and honest" identity and display the socially desirable aspect. Given that this thesis argues that identity is fluid (Papacharissi, 2010). Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin's (2008) research, however, has not considered the notion that Facebook users may explore different aspects of identity on Facebook.

According to Manzi and colleagues (2018), identity exploration refers to the deliberation of seeking and processing information associated with the self to develop one's identity (Flum & Kaplan, 2006). Based on such a definition, identity exploration involves cognitive process to explore various aspects on the continuum of identity. The present research adopts the variable, identity exploration, from Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research to measure the extent that Facebook users perceive Facebook to be a platform to explore identity. The present proposed model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, theorises that the motives of self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging drive Facebook users to explore different aspects of identity. The function of user-generated content increases Facebook users' autonomy to enact the different aspects of identity. Motivational Facebook Identity Structure proposes that Facebook users explore various aspects of identity through posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures (Manzi et al., 2018).

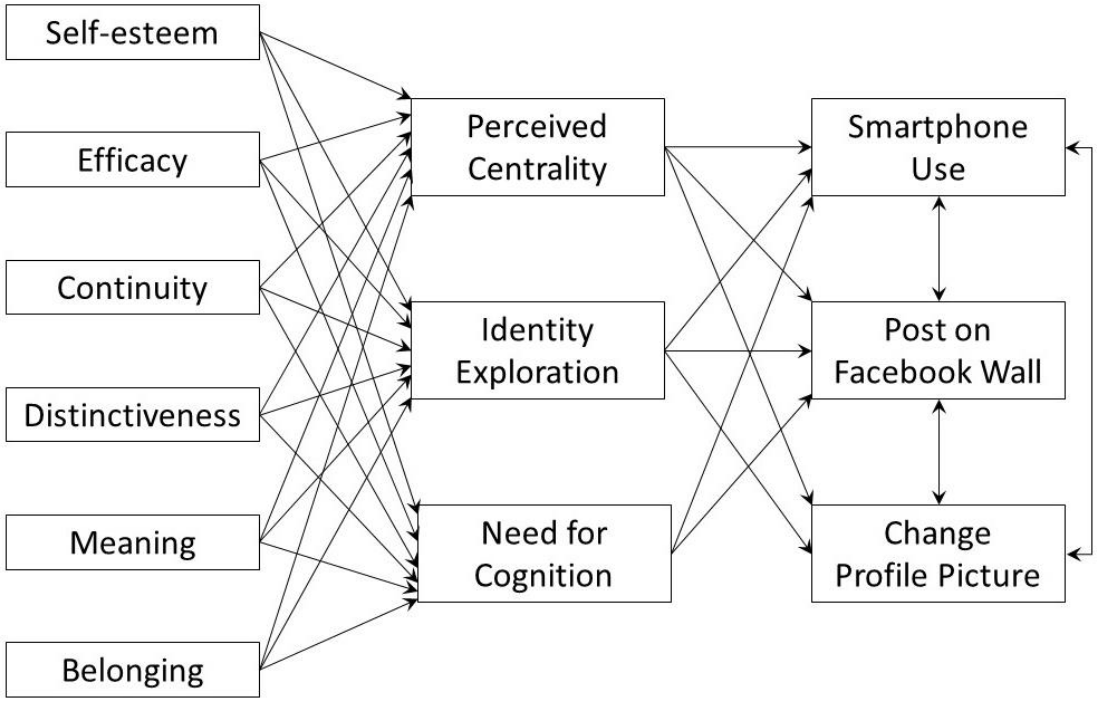
Moreover, the present research posits need for cognitive (NFC) and smartphone use in Motivational Facebook Identity Structure to measure cognitive process and behavioural outcomes respectively. NFC refers to a dispositional tendency to engage in and enjoy effortful thinking (Zhong et al., 2011). Previous research has demonstrated that people's need for cognition influences their information processing. People with low NFC tend to be low in cognitive processing but high in personal and emotional involvement in the information (Braverman, 2008; Green & Brock, 2000). Hughes and colleagues (2012) found that participants who responded low in NFC preferred to use Facebook over another social media platform, Twitter. The present research predicts that negative relationships between NFC, identity motives, and posting on Facebook. People with low NFC are more likely to be influenced by their feelings of self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging, and post more on Facebook Walls. Meanwhile, the present

research postulates NFC to be negatively associated with another behavioural outcome, smartphone use. A smartphone is a mobile device, which combines telephone and computer functions and runs on mobile apps (a shortened term for applications). The development of smartphones facilitates the use of social media. As only basic skills are needed to handle a smartphone, people can easily access social media regardless of their prior knowledge of computer use (Ariel & Avidar, 2015). Motivational Facebook Identity Structure theorises that smartphone use is one of the behavioural outcomes which is positively associated with posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures. Also, smartphone use is positively associated with identity motives, perceived centrality and identity exploration. As shown in Figure 2, the present model illustrates that the six motives guide Facebook users to construct central aspects of identity and explore different aspects of identity through posting on Facebook Walls, changing Profile Pictures and using smartphones.

Figure 2 graphically presents the proposed conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure. The model illustrates the complexity of motivational influence on cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction. The motives of self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging predict posting on Facebook Walls, changing Profile Pictures, and using smartphones through perceived centrality, identity exploration and need for cognition. The six identity motives drive Facebook users to evaluate their central aspects of identity, explore different aspects of identity and estimate how likely Facebook posts could satisfy their identity work. Facebook users post on Facebook Walls, change Profile Pictures, and use smartphones to enact the central aspects of the self and explore other possible self-defining aspects. In the next chapter, Study 1 will answer the research question that asks to what extent Facebook users perceived that their Profiles could satisfy their identity motives. Study 1 will employ

correlational analyses to examine the hypotheses formulated in Chapter 1, and then, structural equation modelling (SEM) will be used to test the proposed conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure.

Figure 2. Proposed conceptual model: Motivational Facebook Identity Structure



3.4 Appealing to Identity Motives in News Framing

According to boyd and Ellison's (2008) definition of social media, these online platforms can be defined by having Profiles and social connection. Facebook Profile, as discussed above, allows users to construct and deliver the presentation of self to multiple audiences (Ellison & boyd, 2013). Another feature to define social media is the interactive social connection (boyd & Ellison, 2008). Facebook News Feed is a place full of social interaction, where users can see other users' activities, for instance, likes, shares, and comments on Facebook posts.

One of the most frequently encountered posts on Facebook News Feed is news related posts (Müller et al., 2016; Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Facebook is the most popular social media and traditional news media rush to open accounts on Facebook to enjoy its free functions and to connect with its huge user network (Hille & Bakker, 2013). News stories including personally relevant elements are more likely to attract people's attention (Zheng, 2014). For example, people lend more credence and have a better recall rate on news framed in such a way as to evoke existing self-conceptions (Shrauger, 1975; Vignoles, 2011). Moreover, Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall (2010) found that participants selectively exposed themselves to news stories, which supported their existing attitude to enhance self-esteem. These research outcomes suggest that news stories prompt identity motives to draw people's attention, such as evoking existing self-conceptions (continuity) and increasing self-esteem. In a similar vein, a body of research has demonstrated that the ways people see themselves influence their cognitive processes in responses to different information (Gregg et al., 2011). For instance, previous studies have found relationships between continuity and attention, (Shrauger, 1975), belonging and memory (Gardner et al., 2000), distinctiveness and self-stereotyping (Pickett et al., 2002), meaning and adaptive function (Hogg, 2007), and efficacy and motivational self-regulation

of goal challenges and outcome expectations (Bandura, 2001a). Although previous research has suggested associations between identity motives and cognitive processes, little research has focused on how certain news frames satisfy people's identity motives. This thesis aims to answer the question of how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing.

This thesis will employ qualitative method as it offers an effective way to identify how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing. Framing is conceptualised as the association between the organisation of mental representation of events and people's subjective involvement in such events (Druckman, 2001; Goffman, 1974). Framing involves cognitive processes, by which readers understand events through subjective experience, their own interpretation and the knowledge shared with the writers (Bransford & Johnson, 1972, as cited in Giles & Shaw, 2009). Previous research has theorised that the presentation of a narrative could influence psychological engagement in events. For example, narrative transportation theory proposes that the rhetorical devices in a narrative could influence people's evaluation of the content and induce story-consistent beliefs (Escalas, 2004). When the news narrative remind them of their own experience and situation, people undergo transportation and have an impetus to identify with the characters (Green & Brock, 2000). They are prone to identify with the characters, become emotionally involved, and visualise themselves in a similar situation (Braverman, 2008). Giles and Shaw (2009) addressed such psychological engagement and theorised reader identification in the conceptual framework of Media Framing Analysis to address the cognitive processes of identifying with news. Media Framing Analysis, however, overlooks people's motivational influence on identification. The present research incorporates the six identity motives proposed in motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into the conceptual framework of Media Framing Analysis to investigate

how media appealed to identity motives in news framing. Methodologically, the present research takes Selim, Long and Vignoles's (2014) paper as a reference to present the qualitative findings. Selim and colleagues (2014) adopted motivated identity structure theory (Vignoles, 2011) as a framework to explore the underlying meanings in social media users' narratives. They identified the six identity motives and categorised them into six themes. This thesis will investigate identity motives in news framing and present the findings by each motive.

The present research will examine the news stories reported on Facebook, as it is one of the major online platforms for news consumption (Hermida et al., 2012; Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Facebook users encounter various news posts on Facebook News Feed. Zheng (2014) found that Facebook users tend to give up reading long news articles but skim through Facebook News Feed and stop to read visually attractive and personally related posts. In other words, news stories presented with catchy and personally related elements are more like to draw Facebook users' attention. The present research will collect news stories on Facebook and the framing analysis will be presented in Study 2, as shown in Chapter 5.

3.5 Identity Enactment through Commenting

Another reason the present research set out to study news on Facebook is that Facebook comments are potential data to understand users' behavioural response to news framing. Holton, Lee, and Coleman (2014) attempted to investigate the interplay between framing of news and comments. They found that people picked up the frames in news and responded with a perspective consistent with the news narrative. Their research, however, does not have a solid theoretical framework to back up their findings. This thesis argues that the patterns they found are categorisations of themes, which could not provide

adequate theoretical explanations to news readers' behavioural responses to news framing. In the nonymous Facebook context, users' activities are transparent to other users, leaving people little room to construct an online identity incongruent with offline self. Facebook users are motivated to enact the central aspects of their identity. For Vignoles and colleagues (2006), the construct of identity enactment is similar to that of self-presentation. They define identity enactment as showing or enacting identity elements in everyday life to satisfy identity motives. People are more likely to engage in the behaviours, which could satisfy their identity motives (Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012). This thesis postulates that commenting on news could be a form of identity enactment to news framing.

Previous research has demonstrated that participation in news discussion could increase users' sense of belonging (Pi et al., 2013), self-esteem (Reich, 2011), and perceived efficacy to influence others (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Nevertheless, there is lack of published data on identity enactment through Facebook commenting. Motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) proposes that people are motivated to see themselves in a positive light (self-esteem motive), to think they are competent (efficacy motive), to believe their identities are continuous over time (continuity motive), to distinguish themselves from others (distinctiveness motive), to find their existence is meaningful (meaning motive) and to be accepted in social contexts (belonging motive). This thesis draws on motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) to study how Facebook users responded to news framing to satisfy identity motives. In Study 3, as shown in Chapter 6, this thesis will incorporate motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into the framework of deductive confirmatory content analysis for exploring how Facebook users' commenting activities responding to the news stories found in Study 2.

3.6 Mixed Method: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Research

The present research employs a mixed method of quantitative and qualitative research to study motivational influence on cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction. Mixed method research draws upon the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative analyses and allows integration of findings through narrative (Fetters et al., 2013). This thesis will begin with quantitative analyses to investigate the extent to which Facebook users perceived that their Profiles could satisfy their identity motives. Study 1, as reported in next chapter, begins with correlational analyses to examine the hypotheses, formulated in Chapter 1. After that, structural equation modelling will be used to test the proposed conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure. The model is shown in Figure 2 to graphically illustrate motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity construction on Facebook.

Study 2 and Study 3, in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 respectively, adopt qualitative analyses to explore news framing and Facebook users' comments respectively. Study 2 aims to explore how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing, and Study 3 attempts to investigate how Facebook users responded to the news framing, found in Study 2, to satisfy the identity motives. For both qualitative studies, motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) will be incorporated into the framework. Also, Selim, Long and Vignoles's (2014) paper provides an important analytical framework for the present research by way of demonstrating the application of motivated identity construction theory in data interpretation and finding representation. The findings of the three studies will be synthesised and discussed in General Discussion, Chapter 7. The general discussion of this thesis will be presented through narrative to bring insights and implications beyond the outcomes gained from separate quantitative and qualitative findings (Fetters et al., 2013).

To sum up this chapter, this thesis drawing on motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) proposes a framework, namely Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, to predict motivational influence on the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction. Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory provides a grounding theoretical framework for this thesis because it conceptualises the unique contributions of each identity motive and the dynamics of them in combination. Moreover, it explicates the complex identity structure into three dimensions: motivational, cognitive, and behavioural. This thesis posits the basic conceptual framework of Facebook identity structure, likewise, in three layers: motivational identity construction (people are motivated to satisfy the six identity motives), predictions and behavioural outcome (people enact their identity on Facebook) through cognitive process (people perceive elements on Facebook that could reflect who they are). The present proposed Motivational Facebook Identity Structure is shown in Figure 2. We turn now to Study 1 to examine the hypotheses and test the model in next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Study 1: Testing the Motivational Facebook Identity Structure

4.1 Background

In Chapter 1, previous literature on people's motivational influence on identity construction has been discussed. Vignoles and colleagues (2006) found that people are motivated to construct an identity that could satisfy six fundamental identity motives: self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging. They tested a model and found the independent contributions of each motive to perceived centrality (cognitive dimension) and identity enactment (behavioural dimension). In the cognitive dimension, people evaluate different aspects of their identity and perceive the aspects which can satisfy the identity motives to be central to their identity. In the behavioural dimension, they enact identity elements to show the aspects of identity which they perceive as central to satisfy the six identity motives (Vignoles et al., 2006). Vignoles (2011) later developed motivated identity construction theory to outline the unique paths and strengths of each motive to predict perceived centrality and identity enactment, and to demonstrate the dynamics of multiple motives in the formation of the complexity of identity construction.

Recently, Manzi and colleagues (2018) have been among the first few scholars to extend the research on identity motives from offline contexts to Facebook. Their research is influential in ways to provide empirical evidence of the motivational influence on Facebook identity work and to examine identity exploration on Facebook. Their research, however, made limited theoretical contributions to the existing literature as hey made no attempt to examine a model to delineate the structure of identity motives on cognitive and

behavioural dimensions of the identity work on Facebook. Moreover, methodologically, they computed identity motives as a single indicator that failed to unpack how the unique paths of individual motives contributed to Facebook identity construction. Therefore, the present study aimed to fill the gap by testing a conceptual model for illustrating the pathways and that could provide theoretical contribution to the existing literature. By providing information on how the six identity motives influenced Facebook users' evaluation of and presentation on the aspects of their identities, this study can help answer the broader project question concerning the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural influence of identity construction on Facebook.

The present research adopted Vignoles' (2011) motivated identity construction theory and variables in Manzi and colleagues (2018), namely identity exploration, Facebook Wall, and Facebook Profile in the present conceptual model. The following hypotheses were formulated on identity motives, perceived centrality, identity exploration, Facebook Wall, and Facebook Profile. The first set of hypotheses was made to identity motives, as variables in the motivational dimension, and perceived centrality, as variable in the cognitive dimension (Vignoles et al., 2006). The present study predicted that the six identity motives would be positively correlated (H1a), and they would be individually and positively correlated with perceived centrality (H1b).

Another limitation of their research is that, methodologically, Manzi and colleagues (2018) computed the frequencies of posting on Facebook Walls and changing Facebook Pictures as a single indicator to measure Facebook use. As argued in the literature review in Chapter 1, the constructs of posting on Facebook Walls and changing Facebook Pictures might be similar to a limited extent. This thesis argued that the way Manzi and colleagues (2018) computed Facebook Walls and Facebook Pictures was attributed to the lack of significant relationship between Facebook use and identity exploration. This thesis

considered identity exploration to be a variable in the cognitive dimension since Manzi and colleagues (2018) mentioned that identity exploration is "seeking and processing information about possible self-content" (p. 82). This indicated that identity exploration is involved in the cognitive process of identity-related information. The present research theorised that identity motives would predict identity enactment through identity exploration. The second set of hypotheses was proposed that identity exploration would be positively and individually correlated with the six identity motives (H2a). The present research addressed the limitation in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research to separate Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures as two variables. The present research proposed that identity exploration would be positively correlated with posting on Facebook Walls (H2b) and changing Profile Pictures (H2c).

The third set of hypotheses was formulated on the activities on Facebook Profiles. Unlike that in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research, this research separated Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures as two identity enactment indicators in the behavioural dimension. This thesis hypothesised that these two indicators would be positively correlated (H3a). Facebook Walls (H3b) and Profile Pictures (H3c) would be positively correlated with the six identity motives. Also, the relationships between these two indicators of Facebook identity enactment and cognitive dimensions were formulated. It was hypothesised that Facebook Walls (H3d) and Profile Pictures (H3e) would be positively correlated with perceived centrality.

Furthermore, this thesis proposed a need for cognition and smartphone use to measure cognitive processes and behavioural outcomes respectively. In the cognitive dimension, previous research has found that people's need for cognition (NFC) influences their information processing. People with low NFC are low in cognitive processing but high in personal and emotional involvement in the information (Braverman, 2008; Green

& Brock, 2000). This thesis proposed that people with low NFC might be more motivated to construct their identity to satisfy their identity motives. The fourth set of hypotheses predicted a negative correlation that low NFC would be associated with high identity motives (H4a) and posting more on Facebook Walls (H4b), since participants might have higher motivation to spend time on constructing identity on Facebook. Meanwhile, in the behavioural dimension, this thesis proposed that smartphone use would be associated with identity construction on Facebook. Advanced mobile technology reinforces high participation on social media (Ariel & Avidar, 2015). With smartphones, Facebook users can update Profiles and upload their daily activities to Facebook Walls as frequently as they like (boyd, 2010). The present research formulated the fifth set of hypotheses that smartphone use would be positively associated with identity motives (H5a). In the cognitive dimension, smartphone use would be positively associated with perceived centrality (H5b) and identity exploration (H5c). Since a smartphone is a handy means to access Facebook, it was hypothesised that smartphone use would be positively associated with other variables in the behavioural dimension, Facebook Walls (H5d) and Profile Pictures (H5e). In addition, another hypothesis was formulated on smartphone use and another variable in the cognitive dimension, need for cognition (NFC). The present research predicted that smartphone use would be negatively associated with NFC (H5f) because this research predicted the negative relationships between NFC and motivational drive as well as identity enactment, as stated in the fourth set of hypotheses.

As Vignoles (2011) mentioned, existing literature on motivational influence on Facebook identity construction is in fragmentation that needs an integrated model, however, a model to illustrate identity motives on Facebook identity construction is still lacking. This thesis proposes a model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, to illustrate motivational influence on the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook

identity construction. The model theorises that identity motives predict smartphone use, Facebook Wall and, Facebook Profile (behavioural dimension) through perceived centrality, identity exploration and NFC. The proposed model is shown in Figure 2 in the theoretical chapter.

The present research drew on Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory to develop Motivational Facebook Identity Structure. The aims of Study 1 were twofold. Correlational analyses were used to test the five sets of hypotheses which could determine the relationships between identity motives, cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity processes on Facebook. Then, the proposed conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, was tested to determine the pathways. To test Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, a regression analysis had initially been considered. However, this analysis treats psychological constructs as manifest variables and does not account for measurement error. This may have problems in the estimation of statistical relationships when leaving the measurement error issues unaddressed. In contrast, structural equation modelling (SEM) treats psychological constructs as latent variables and takes measurement error into account (Iacobucci et al., 2007). In this sense, SEM was utilised to test the proposed conceptual framework. In the following sections, methodology, correlational analyses and SEM will be presented.

4.2 Method

4.2.1 Participants and Procedure

The present study, Study 1 of this thesis, was a cross-sectional quantitative study. Cross-sectional design is one of the most widely used designs to examine relationships among variables (de Vaus, 2001). This design is ideal to achieve the objectives of Study 1 to test the hypotheses and the proposed model.

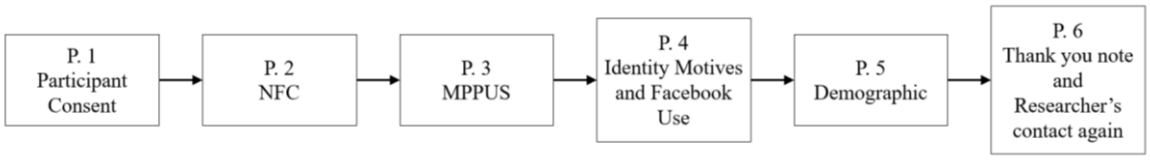
The present study aimed to recruit community-based sample because, during the developmental stage transitioning from childhood to adulthood, students generally display nebulous senses of self and less stable relationships in comparison with older adults (de Vries & Kühne, 2015; Sears, 1986). This sampling would be more suitable for studying identity than relative to student sample (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013; Vignoles, Chryssochoou, Breakwell, 2002; Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, et al., 2006). Also, as discussed in Chapter 2, less representative samples in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research on identity motives and Facebook Profile may affect their findings. The present research attempted to increase ecological representation whereby recruiting community-based could be more able to represent the wide-ranging demographic background of Facebook users (Chih et al., 2017).

The present recruited participants on Facebook, who were 1) Facebook users; 18 years old or above; and 3) could read Traditional Chinese. Two hundred and seventy-two Facebook users were initially recruited. Of those, five (1.84%) were excluded as they were found to be responding with straightline answers, responding with the same answer in the scales. The analyses were conducted on a final sample of 267 participants. The final sample consisted of 41.6% males (N = 111) and 58.4% females (N = 156), with a mean age 35.94 (SD = 12.64) and age ranging from 18 to 73 years. Older participants were not treated as outliers because this thesis aimed to recruit a sample that could represent the diverse mix of Facebook users (Li & Sakamoto, 2014).

An online survey was hosted on Bristol Online Survey, instead of using pen-and-paper, to give participants a consistent sense of performing activities online. On the first page of the survey, participants were reminded of their rights as research participants, such as their participation was voluntary and they could withdraw at anytime without giving any reasons or having any consequences, and the inclusion criteria of the present study.

Participants needed to give their consent before proceeding to the survey. Psychometric scales were launched in the next four pages. On the last page of the survey, the contact details of the present researcher were shown in case participants had any questions about the study. The flow of the survey is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Flowchart of online survey



4.2.2 Measures

A set of psychometric scales was used to measure the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity work. The original scales were in English. They were translated to Chinese and back-translated to English for validation. The importance of back-translation is to ensure the meaning of the original version is delivered accurately (van Nes et al., 2010). The translation work was performed by the present researcher. The back-translation was conducted by a PhD student, who was English-Chinese bilingual, and majored in psychology. All the back-translated English items that captured the meaning of the original scales were compared with the original English scales. Discrepancies were discussed and resolved by the present researcher and the PhD student. As the back-translated version reproduced the meaning of the original scales, the Chinese version was deemed adequate and was used in the present study (Cheung & Bagley, 1998). The original English psychometric scales as well as the final version of the Chinese translation are shown in Appendix B.

4.2.2.1 Motivational identity work.

Identity motives: six items in Identity Motives Rating (Vignoles et al., 2006) were adapted to measure the six identity motives, self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging, with a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). One of the advantages of using single-item measure is shortening the scales (Loo, 2002). When Vignoles and colleagues (2006) developed their scale of measuring identity motives, they aimed to minimise the load on participants. As the present study employed online survey, the environment where the participants filling in the survey could not be controlled. A short survey was useful in a way to minimise the time required for participants to complete it. However, some scholars have shown concern about internal-consistency reliability of single-item measure (Nunnally, 1978). Vignoles and colleagues (2006) were aware of the weakness of using single-item measure. They have reviewed a similar analytical approach which has been employed to measure one of the motives, self-esteem (Robins et al., 2001), and have carefully worded the statements of measuring identity motives which repeatedly tested in multiple contexts (Reis et al., 2000). Moreover, Manzi and colleagues' (2018) paper on identity motives on Facebook Profile adopted Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) single-item measure of identity motives. Therefore, for the present study, using the single-item measure was acceptable. Similar to Manzi and colleagues' (2018) paper, the present study slightly modified the items to measure the extent that participants perceived their Facebook Profiles could satisfy their identity motives. An example item was: 'How much does your Facebook Profile give you a sense of self-esteem?'. The six motives were positively correlated in the present study, ranging from $r = .46$ to $.78$ ($p < .01$).

4.2.2.2 Cognitive dimension of identity structure.

Three sets of scales were used to measure participants' perceived centrality, identity exploration, and need for cognition to examine cognitive domain.

Perceived centrality: two items in Identity Motives Rating (Vignoles et al., 2006) were adapted to measure the perceived centrality, with a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). Similar with the items measuring identity motives, these two items were also slightly modified to evaluate the extent that participants considered their Facebook Profiles were central to their identity. The two items were: 'How much do you see your Facebook profile as central to your identity?'; and 'How important is your Facebook profile in defining who you are?'. These two items were highly and positively correlated ($r = .80$, $p < .01$) in the present study.

Identity exploration: two items in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) paper were used in this study to measure participants' Facebook identity exploration, with an 8-point Likert scale, with responses ranging from 1 (not at all) to 8 (extremely). The two items were: 'My Facebook profile lets me test a different way of being myself than usual ones'; and 'My Facebook profile lets me explore new aspects of myself'. These two items were highly and positively correlated ($r = .71$, $p < .01$) in the present study.

Need for Cognition: an 18-item Need for Cognition Scale (Cacioppo, Petty, & Kao, 1984) was employed to measure participants' cognition needs. This scale uses a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (extremely uncharacteristic of me) to 5 (extremely characteristic of me) and includes reverse scoring (Braverman, 2008; Kaynar & Amichai-Hamburger, 2008). Two examples were: 'I would prefer complex to simple problems'; and another example from reverse scoring: 'Thinking is not my idea of fun'. The Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .89$) showed high internal consistency in this sample.

4.2.2.3 Behavioural dimension of identity structure.

Two sets of scales were used to measure participants' smartphone use and identity-related Facebook use to understand behavioural outcome in identity structure.

Smartphone use: a 27-item Mobile Phone Problem Use Scale (Bianchi & Phillips, 2005) was used to measure participants' smartphone use behaviour, with a 10-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not true at all) to 10 (extremely true). Three items were slightly modified to address the flexible ways to connect with other people. The Cronbach's alpha (α = .93) showed excellent internal consistency in this sample. The modified wordings were underlined as shown below.

- Original statement: 'When out of range for some time, I become preoccupied with the thought of missing a call.'
    - Modified: The phrase 'or message' was added at the end of the statement making it 'When out of range for some time, I become preoccupied with the thought of missing a call <u>or message</u>'.
- Original statement: 'Sometimes, when I am on the mobile phone and I am doing other things, I get carried away with the conversation and I don't pay attention to what I am doing.'
    - Modified: The phrase 'or message' was added after 'conversation' making it 'Sometimes, when I am on the mobile phone and I am doing other things, I get carried away with the conversation <u>or message</u> and I don't pay attention to what I am doing.'
- Original statement: 'I have used my mobile phone to talk to others when I was feeling isolated.'

- Modified: The phrase ‘talk to’ was replaced by ‘get in touch with’ making it ‘I have used my mobile phone to get in touch with others when I was feeling isolated.’

Facebook use: two items in Manzi and colleagues’ (2018) paper were employed to measure the extent to which participants enacted their identity through posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pic, with a 6-point Likert scale, with responses ranging from 1 (never) to 6 (every day). The two items were: ‘How often do you post on your Facebook?’; and ‘How often do you change your Facebook Profile Pic?’ These two items showed a moderate positive correlation ($r = .39$, $p < .01$) in the present study. This coefficient supported the thesis that the constructs of the two items were related to a limited extent. These two items should be tested as separated indicators, unlike that in Manzi and colleagues’ (2018) research.

The final part was related to demographic questions. Participants were asked for their age, gender, educational level, and occupation. As this thesis does not aim at conducting demographic analysis, only basic demographic questions were collected for descriptive statistics.

4.3 Results

This results section began with descriptive statistics, including demographic results, and means and standard deviations of psychometric scales, followed by inferential statistics outcomes of correlational analyses and structural equation modelling (SEM).

4.3.1 Descriptive Statistics

The resulting sample was composed of 267 participants. There was no missing data in the demographic section. The demographic results showed that the sampling of the

present study was able to represent the wide ranger Facebook users than other studies which recruited student samples (Pew Research Center, 2018). In the present study, the age ranged from 18 to 73 years (M = 35.94). The range was comparable to those in previous Facebook studies that recruited non-student samples. For instance, the age range in Li and Sakamoto's (2014) paper on social media opinions was from 18 to 67 years (M = 30.3) in experiment 1 and from 19 to 70 years (M = 34.7) in experiment 2. Other demographic results of the present study also showed a high diversity in the sampling. The sample consisted of 19.1% students (N = 51), 73.03% employed (N = 195) and 7.87% unemployed (N = 21). Slightly more participants reported their highest education level as degree or above (53.2%, N = 142) than those reporting post-secondary or below (46.8%, N = 125). The descriptive statistics of demographic results are presented in Table 1.

The descriptive statistics showed that the distinctiveness motive yielded the highest mean (M = 3.46) compared with the other five motives. This outcome corroborates the claims in the series of identity motives research (Vignoles et al., 2002a, 2006) that some papers may overemphasise the role of self-esteem paid in identity construction (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Gregg et al., 2011; Heppner & Kernis, 2011; Rosenberg, 1986), and in different contexts, some motives show stronger influence relative to self-esteem (Brewer et al., 1993; Swann et al., 1987). The present outcome may also supports the claim that distinctiveness is a universal motive (Vignoles et al., 2006). A number of papers have argued that distinctiveness is unique to in Western societies, in which people generally have independent self-concept and, behaviourally, employ strategies to distinguish their identity from others. In contrast, people from collectivistic culture view themselves as part of a group and, behaviourally, avoid being too distinct from the social norms (Becker et al., 2012; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Nevertheless, Becker and colleagues (2012), likewise Selim, Long and Vignoles (2014), found that people in collectivistic societies did

not display a weaker motive for distinctiveness relative to their counterpart in individualistic cultures. In the present study, participants are Hong Kong people who are commonly considered as bicultural in cross-cultural literature (Hong et al., 2000). The present finding of distinctiveness contributes to the literature that this motive could be a universal motive (Becker et al., 2012; Vignoles et al., 2006). The descriptive statistics for distinctiveness and other variables are presented in Table 2.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of demographic data in Study 1

	Number	Mean (*SD*)	Percentage (%)
Gender			
Male	111		41.6%
Female	156		58.4%
Age			
Male	111	36.24 (*SD* = 13.41)	
Female	156	35.72 (*SD* = 12.11)	
Total	267	35.94 (*SD* = 12.64)	
Occupation			
Students	51		19.1%
Employed	195		73.03%
Unemployed	21		7.87%
Education level			
Secondary	78		29.2%
Post-secondary	47		17.6%
Degree	103		38.6%
Post-graduate	39		14.6%

Note. *SD* = standard deviation

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of the measures in Study 1

	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
Self-esteem	3.06	1.69	.35	-.86
Efficacy	2.76	1.67	.66	-.49
Continuity	3.45	1.84	.15	-1.14
Distinctiveness	3.46	1.72	.19	-.88
Meaning	2.94	1.68	.48	-.80
Belonging	3.39	1.71	.18	-.97
Perceived centrality	3.10	1.72	.43	-.82
Identity exploration	2.61	1.63	.84	-.23
Need for cognition	3.20	.66	-.14	.08
Smartphone use	4.15	1.54	-.02	-.77
Facebook Wall	2.99	2.06	.67	.93
Profile Picture	1.52	.79	-.65	2.45

Note. *SD* = standard deviation

4.3.2 Relationships between Identity Motives, and Cognitive and Behavioural Variables

Before proceeding to report results, it has to be pointed out that there was a drawback in the website programming of Bristol Online Survey, which yielded a few missing data, even though the present researcher had set all statements in psychometric scales as required to answer. To deal with those missing data, this study used a conservative but efficacious way to substitute them with the average values for the corresponding scale (Kim & Curry, 1977; Scherer, 1997).

In analysing the statistical distribution of the variables for univariate normality, skewness and kurtosis are two indicators to assess the normality of distribution (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2014; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). When skewness and kurtosis range from -1 to +1, the distribution can be considered as normal (Hair et al., 2016). In the present study, the values of skewness and kurtosis of all variables were within the range of -1 to +1, except the kurtosis of continuity motive (-1.14) and changing Profile Pictures (2.54). Previous research has, however, argued that Pearson's *r* is robust to interval scales even when the sampling distribution is in nonnormal or mixed-normal conditions (Edgell & Noon, 1984; Havlicek & Peterson, 1977, as cited in Bishara & Hittner, 2012). Therefore, the Pearson correlation was used in the present study to test the hypotheses. The values of skewness and kurtosis for considered variables are presented in Table 2.

To test the hypotheses, two-tailed Pearson correlation analyses were performed with SPSS 25.0. The first set of hypotheses was formulated on identity motives and perceived centrality. Hypothesis 1a predicted that the six identity motives were positively correlated. The results fully supported H1a that the six motives were positively associated, ranging from $r = .46$ to .78, and $p < .01$ for all motives. Of those, self-esteem and efficacy yielded

the strongest correlation ($r = .78$, $p < 0.01$). In Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) pivotal paper on identity motives, they found similar findings that identity elements which could provide a stronger sense of efficacy are related closely to self-esteem. Previous papers on social media have discussed the idea that the invention of user-generated content on internet facilitates ordinary people's action on social media, which could increase their efficacy (Almoqbel et al., 2019; Betton et al., 2015). For example, Thomas and colleagues (2015) measured posting, liking, sharing, and commenting as actions on social media. Their research demonstrated that people's identity influences their actions on social media. Those actions, facilitated by the function of user-generated content, increase efficacy of ordinary people. When people perceive that they could find their voice to influence others on social media, self-esteem and the use of social media increase (Betton et al., 2015; Gangadharbatla, 2008; Li & Sakamoto, 2014). Meanwhile, in this study, efficacy and belonging yielded the lowest correlation ($r = .46$, $p < 0.01$) among motives, yet the relationship is not weak. Vignoles and colleagues (2006) considered efficacy and belonging as theoretically independent motives. Their findings supported previous research that these two motives contributed independently and directly to identity enactment (Deci & Ryan, 2000). It is not surprising that, in the present study, the relationship between efficacy and belonging yielded the lowest correlation coefficient. In addition, in the section of path analysis below, the path model of the present research showed that efficacy and belonging independently and directly predicted variables in behavioural dimensions. The outcomes will be presented later in the structural equation modelling section.

Hypothesis 1b predicted that the six identity motives were positively correlated with perceived centrality. The results fully supported H1b that the six motives were positively associated with perceived centrality: self-esteem ($r = .69$), efficacy ($r = .66$), continuity (r

= .57), distinctiveness (r = .62), meaning (r = .73) and belonging (r = .62), and $p < .01$ for all values. The results showed the correlation coefficients were from moderate to strong. These results were slightly higher than those in Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) paper. However, generally, these results found in the Facebook context were similar to that in Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) research conducted in the offline environment that, the six identity motives were positively correlated. Also, the relationships between motivational influence (identity motives) and cognitive dimensions (perceived centrality) were found.

The second set of hypotheses was proposed on identity exploration. Hypothesis 2a proposed that identity exploration was positively correlated with the six identity motives. The results showed significant positive associations which fully supported H2a: self-esteem (r = .44), efficacy (r = .42), continuity (r = .42), distinctiveness (r = .46), meaning (r = .53) and belonging (r = .41), and $p < .01$ for all values. The present findings showed identity exploration and the six motives were moderately correlated. This study adopted identity exploration from the research of Manzi and colleagues (2018). However, unlike their research, this study found the independent relationships of the six identity motives with identity exploration, instead of computing the motives as a single indicator.

Hypotheses 2b and 2c proposed that identity exploration was positively correlated with posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures respectively. The present results yielded significant findings which supported H2b and H2c that identity exploration was positively associated with posting on Facebook Walls (r = .28, $p < .01$), and with changing Profile Pictures (r = .40, $p < .01$). This study adopted other variables from the research of Manzi and colleagues (2018), which were Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures. Manzi and colleagues (2018) computed the two variables as a single indicator, namely Facebook use. They, however, could not find significant association between

identity exploration and Facebook use. Unlike Manzi and colleagues (2018), the present study separated Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures into two variables. After separating them, the present study could find significant findings between identity exploration and Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures. It is believed that the present results were more robust than that in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) paper in ways to examine the unique relationships between identity exploration (cognition process) and all six motives (motivational dimension), in addition to Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures (behavioural dimension of Facebook identity enactment).

The third set of hypotheses was made to Facebook identity enactment, as well as their relationships with identity motives and perceived centrality. Hypothesis 3a predicted that Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures were positively correlated. The result showed significant positive association which supported H3a ($r = .39$, $p < 0.01$). This result was consistent with that in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) paper that these two items yielded a moderate relationship, providing support to the aforementioned argument in this thesis that the constructs of Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures are related to Facebook identity work, yet not the same.

Hypothesis 3b postulated a positive correlation between Facebook Walls and the six identity motives. The present results yielded significant positive associations that fully supported H3b: self-esteem ($r = .39$), efficacy ($r = .37$), continuity ($r = .29$), distinctiveness ($r = .32$), meaning ($r = .27$) and belonging ($r = .35$), and $p < .01$ for all values. Hypothesis 3c postulated a positive correlation between Profile Pictures and the six identity motives. The results also yielded significant positive associations which fully supported H3c: self-esteem ($r = .40$), efficacy ($r = .25$), continuity ($r = .32$), distinctiveness ($r = .39$), meaning ($r = .34$) and belonging ($r = .41$), and $p < .01$ for all values. Taking the results of H3b and H3c together, interesting patterns are found. Self-esteem ($r = .39$) and efficacy ($r = .37$)

yielded the two highest coefficients in association with posting Facebook Walls. In the meantime, self-esteem (r = .40) and belonging (r = .41) yielded the two highest coefficients in association with changing Profile Pictures. These outcomes showed similar patterns to that in Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) paper that self-esteem was strongly correlated with both efficacy and belonging. Moreover, efficacy and belonging predicted perceived centrality indirectly through self-esteem, but they both directly predicted identity enactment. Their findings indicated the strong relationships between the two motives and behavioural outcomes. In a similar vein, the path model of the present research showed that efficacy and belonging motives independently and directly predicted variables in behavioural dimensions. The outcomes will be presented later in the structural equation modelling section.

Hypotheses 3d and 3e postulated that perceived centrality was positively correlated with Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures respectively. The present results yielded significant findings to support both H3d and 3e that perceived centrality was positively associated with Facebook Walls (r = .37) and Profile Pictures (r = .39), and $p < .01$ for both values. The outcomes of H3d and H3e indicated that Facebook users tended to post on Facebook Walls and change Profile Pictures to enact the aspects of identity if they perceive such aspects as central.

The fourth set of hypotheses were formulated based on need for cognition (NFC). Hypothesis 4a and 4b proposed that NFC was negatively correlated with the six identity motives and Facebook Walls respectively. Surprisingly, both H4a and H4b were not statistically supported in the present sample. In the existing literature, studies on NFC and information use have shown equivocal findings. The need to exchange information may be affected by the environmental cues (Gangadharbatla, 2008). Previous research has shown that the different structures across social media platforms promote different behaviours

(Kao et al., 2013). For instance, Hughes and colleagues (2012) found that participants who preferred Facebook reported lower in NFC than those who preferred Twitter. Hughes and colleagues (2012) explained that information use on Twitter is related more to work and study than that on Facebook. NFC might show significant findings if the present study had been conducted in the Twitter context. Nevertheless, the aim of this thesis is to study motivational identity structure. In comparison with other social media platforms, the structural interface of Facebook provides more room to build a personalised portfolio to facilitate identity construction (Gangadharbatla, 2008), given that this research should be conducted in the Facebook context instead of Twitter.

The last set of hypotheses was formulated based on smartphone use. Hypothesis 5a predicted that smartphone use was positively correlated with identity motives. The results yielded significant positive associations which fully supported H5a: self-esteem (r = .35), efficacy (r = .32), continuity (r = .31), distinctiveness (r = .28), meaning (r = .34) and belonging (r = .27), and $p < .01$ for all values. Hypotheses 5b and 5c predicted that smartphone use was positively correlated with the two variables in cognitive dimensions, perceived centrality (H5b) and identity exploration (H5c). The results showed that smartphone use was positively associated with perceived centrality (r = .40, $p < .01$) and identity exploration (r = .38, $p < .01$), to which both H5b and H5c were supported. The present outcomes demonstrated that smartphone use was positively associated with identity motives, perceived centrality and identity exploration.

Hypotheses 5d and 5e proposed that smartphone use was positively correlated with the other two variables in behavioural dimensions, Facebook Walls (H5d) and Profile Pictures (H5e). The result showed significant associations to support H5d and H5e that smartphone use was positively associated with posting on Facebook Walls (r = .12, $p < .05$) and changing Profile Pictures (r = .21, $p < .01$). Although smartphone use was

found to be significantly correlated with posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures, the associations were weak. The possible explanation of the weak correlation is that Facebook Profile is not the only interface for Facebook identity construction. As mentioned in Chapter 2, activities on Facebook News Feed are also related to identity works. For example, reading attitude-consistent news stories is associated with increased self-esteem (Knobloch-Westerwick & Hastall, 2010) and commenting on Facebook posts is related to efficacy enhancement (Gangadharbatla, 2008; E. F. Thomas et al., 2015). Providing that the findings in the present study showed a weak correlation between smartphone use and posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures in terms of Facebook identity work.

Lastly, hypothesis 5f predicted that smartphone use was negatively correlated with need for cognition (NFC). Contrary to expectation, H5f was not statistically supported in the present sample. The present result showed no significant relationship between smartphone use and NFC although it showed a negative association as hypothesised. The lack of significant findings may be attributed to the Facebook context, as explained above.

Overall, the correlational analyses generally supported the hypotheses, except those for need for cognition. The outcomes of correlations are presented in Table 3. We turn now to testing the proposed path model.

4.3.3 Testing Motivational Facebook Identity Structure

The proposed conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, was graphically presented in Chapter 3. The model was, however, slightly revised based on the correlational results. The correlational analyses in the above section could not have yielded significant results to support the hypotheses for need for cognition. Moreover, smartphone use was weakly correlated with Facebook Walls ($r = .12$, $p < .05$) and Profile Pictures (r

= .21, $p < .01$) although the associations were significant. Provided that the present path analysis excluded the need for cognition, and left out the relationships between smartphone use and Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures. The revised Motivational Facebook Identity Structure is shown in Figure 4.

The present model testing has tried two attempts. The following results were reported in three decimal places in order to show the precise differences between the first and second runs of the model testing.

To test the revised conceptual model, structural equation modelling (SEM) was performed by AMOS 25.0. A bootstrapping estimation with 1000 samples was used. The overall fit of the model was marginal, $\chi^2(21, N = 267) = 46.774$, $p = .001$; CMIN/DF = 2.227; GFI = .970; NFI = .969; RFI = .920, TLI = .954; CFI = .982; RMSEA = .068. The *p*-value is smaller than .05 level used by convention that the null hypothesis should be rejected in this model testing. The path values, shown in Figure 5, represent standardised coefficients.

A modification of the path model was, however, considered to perform a second run of model testing. The reasons were: 1) GFI, NFI, RFI, TLI and CFI were over .90, which were good. 2) CMIN/DF was lower than 3.0, which was acceptable (Byrne, 2006). Also, 3) some scholars recommended RMSEA should be lower than .05 to indicate a close fit of the model (Arbuckle, 2005). Meanwhile, others accepted .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999) and even .08 to indicate a reasonable error of approximation (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). RMSEA in the first run of model testing was between .06 and .08, which was still acceptable. Taking the reasons together, the present path analysis decided to conduct a second run to re-specify the model.

The second run of model testing was performed based on the modification indices in the AMOS output. Two direct paths were further included to re-specify the model: 1) from

belonging motive to Profile Pictures; and 2) from efficacy to Facebook Walls. In this attempt, a bootstrapping estimation with 1000 samples was also used. The overall fit of the model was very good, $\chi^2(19, N = 267) = 29.536$, $p = .058$; CMIN/DF = 1.555; GFI = .981; NFI = .981; RFI = .944; TLI = .979; CFI=.993; RMSEA = .046. In this modified model, the degrees of freedom of the chi-square test was reduced from 21 to 19. The two degrees of freedom changed because of the two new parameters in the modified model (Divison of Statistics + Scientific Computation, 2012). The other values yielded a good fit of the model: 1) *p*-value was higher than .05, which showed the null hypothesis should be accept whereas the model fitted the data. 2) GFI, NFI, RFI, TLI and CFI were over .90, which were close to the saturated model, indicating the proposed model was very good. Also, 3) RMSEA showed .046, which was lower than the above mentioned .050 which indicated a close fit of the model (Arbuckle, 2005). The modified model of Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, including unstandardised coefficients, is shown in Figure 6.

In sum, the present path analysis has run two attempts and the second attempt yielded a good fit model which indicated the effects of individual identity motives on cognitive and behavioural dimensions. Table 4 presents the results of the two attempts, showing that the overall fit of the modified model was very good, in contrast to initial run of the model

4.4 Discussion

The path analysis in Study 1 tested for the first time to demonstrate a clear separation between motivational antecedents of cognitive processes and behavioural outcomes on Facebook identity structure. The modified framework, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, is slightly different from the one initially proposed in Chapter 3. Initially, need for cognition (NFC) was proposed as one of the latent variables measuring the cognitive

process. Unexpectedly, NFC did not yield any significant associations in the correlational analyses. Also, smartphone use was initially theorised to have associations with posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures. Smartphone use was weakly correlated with the two variables, although the associations were significant. The proposed model was slightly revised by excluding NFC and the association between smartphone use and Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures before running the path analysis.

The overall fit of model in the first run yielded a marginal result. A modification of the model was considered based on the three statistical justifications stated above. Another consideration of model re-specifying is theoretical alteration. In some cases, model modification may result in a strong shift in the theoretical standpoint that generates a theoretical framework inconsistent with research goals (Divison of Statistics + Scientific Computation, 2012). In the present study, however, model modification could be considered because the re-specifying does not make a strong shift in the model's substantive standpoint. As shown in Figure 6, direct paths are added from belonging motive to Profile Pictures and from efficacy motive to Facebook Walls. After adding the two direct paths, in the second attempt of model testing, the overall fit of the model was very good. The present model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, illustrates that identity motives show a variety of direct and indirect influences on cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity work.

4.4.1 Prediction through Perceived Centrality

Self-esteem, distinctiveness, belonging and meaning moves have independently showed the strong associations with perceived centrality in the correlational analyses of the present study. In the path analysis, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure indicates that the same four motives predict smartphone use, Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures

through perceived centrality. The outcomes of the model can be interpreted as showing that people who perceive that the aspects of their central identity could satisfy the four identity motives have higher smartphone use, post more on Facebook Walls and change Profile Pictures more frequently. Smartphones provide an easy means to post on Facebook Walls and change Profile Pictures (Moreno et al., 2013; R. Zhang, 2017). Through these actions, Facebook users can show their achievement, find meaning through self-affirmation (Toma & Hancock, 2013), form social connections, and at the same time display a distinct identity from their Facebook friends (boyd & Ellison, 2008) to satisfy their motives of self-esteem, distinctiveness, belonging and meaning.

Previous literature on identity has demonstrated the remarkable dynamic between these four motives. For example, Tajfel and Turner (1979) originally theorised in social identity theory that group members are motivated to maximise positive distinctiveness to feel superior to others. Their theory suggests a positive association between distinctiveness and self-esteem (Hogg, 2000). On the contrary, according to self-esteem hypothesis, group identification positively influences self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 1988). This theory, as opposed to social identity theory, suggests a positive association between belonging and self-esteem (W. E. Thomas et al., 2017). Brewer (1991) took both distinctiveness and belonging into account and pointed out in her optimal distinctiveness theory that excessive distinction from or similarity with others may both devastate one's self-esteem. People strive to obtain the optimal balance between the senses of distinctiveness and belonging to maintain self-esteem (W. E. Thomas et al., 2017). Optimal distinctiveness theory illustrates the dynamic between the motives of distinctiveness, belonging and self-esteem (Brewer, 1991). Another theory, subjective uncertainty reduction theory includes meaning in the theory and illustrates the relationships between this motive and the other three: distinctiveness, belonging, and self-esteem. Subjective uncertainty reduction theory puts

forward the idea that uncertainty affects people's confidence and the meaning of existence. If people can find meaningful similarities with a social group (belonging), they feel more certain about how to react in social situations, whereas a meaningful standout in social comparison (distinctiveness) could enhance people's self-esteem (Hogg, 2000). The dynamic between the self-esteem, distinctiveness, belonging and meaning motives has been demonstrated in previous literature which provides explanation of the present model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, that the four motives predict behavioural outcomes through perceived centrality.

4.4.2 Prediction through Identity Exploration

The correlational analyses of the present study found that all six identity motives were positively associated with identity exploration. With those, distinctiveness and meaning respectively yielded the two highest correlation coefficients in association with identity exploration. Furthermore, identity exploration was positively correlated with the three variables in the behavioural dimension, smartphone use, Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures. The relationship between identity exploration, smartphone use, and Profile Pictures, however, yielded stronger correlation coefficients than that between identity exploration and Facebook Walls. The patterns in correlational analyses emerge in the present path analysis. The present model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, illustrates that distinctiveness and meaning predict smartphone use and Profile Pictures through identity exploration. The findings indicate that Facebook users who perceive that identity exploration on Facebook could satisfy their distinctiveness and meaning motives tend to use more smartphones and change Profile Pictures more frequently. A Facebook Profile Picture is a visual self-presentation that gives off a prominent first impression to others (Winston, 2013). An outstanding picture receives more positive feedback than a less

popular one (de Vries & Kühne, 2015). A Profile Picture sends a message of the identity which users want to construct (Kapidzic & Martins, 2015). Recently, Facebook launched a new feature of Profile Picture that users can upload a short video as a Profile Video. This new feature, however, allows for smartphone uploads only. This shows that constructing identity is more flexible when using a smartphone. This handy device facilitates changing Profile Pictures which provides more opportunity for identity exploration.

The outcomes in the present study, however, are inconsistent with that of Manzi and colleagues (2018), despite the fact that identity exploration, Profile Pictures, and Facebook Walls were adopted from their paper. Manzi and colleagues (2018) stated that Facebook is unlikely to be a platform for identity exploration. They explained that the nonymous Facebook environment provides little room for identity exploration, since Facebook users' identity is anchored to their offline persona. Nevertheless, as aforementioned, the weaknesses in their research might affect their findings. The first limitation is that they recruited high school students and their parents as participants. The family bonding among those participants is too close for them to consider identity exploration. Furthermore, the way Manzi and colleagues (2018) computing identity motives as a single indicator is problematic. Previous research on identity motives has shown that identity motives contribute independently to one's identity work. The strengths of each motive and the dynamic among them in shaping one's identity vary in response to contexts and cultures (Batory, 2015; Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012; W. E. Thomas et al., 2017; Vignoles et al., 2006). Another similar problem in Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research is that they computed Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures as a single indicator. As previously mentioned, Profile Pictures allow a single image as a default photo to display one's identity to the whole Facebook network. Facebook users deliberately upload a well-selected image to represent the central aspects of their identity (Strano, 2008; Winston,

2013). On the contrary, posting on Facebook Walls is more versatile. Users can use a wider range of posts to disclose the central aspects and test different aspects of self. In addition, the correlation coefficients between Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures yielded moderate relationships in both Manzi and colleagues' (2018) research and the present study. The above explanations support the view that the constructs of Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures are related to Facebook identity work, yet not the same. Taken together, the sampling and the ways in which Manzi and colleagues (2018) computed identity motives, and Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures as single indicators, affected their research outcomes. To address the limitations in their research, the present study recruited Facebook users as participants and separated the six motives, Facebook Walls and Profile Picture as independent variables. Contrary to Manzi and colleagues' (2018) assumption, the present model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, showed that Facebook is a platform for exploration of different aspects of identity. The identity which users explore on Facebook is not an incongruent identity, but those are other self-defining aspects which satisfy the motives for distinctiveness and meaning.

4.4.3 Fluidity of Facebook Identity

The correlational analyses of this study showed that the continuity motive was moderately and positively correlated with the variables in both cognitive and behavioural dimensions. Unexpectedly, in the present path analysis, continuity showed no direct influence on variables in the behavioural dimension or indirect influence through variables in the cognitive dimension. When examining the motives together in the model testing, the strength of the continuity motive was comparatively weaker than other motives in terms of constructing Facebook identity. The outcomes of the present model, Motivational

Facebook Identity Structure, indicate that Facebook users may not aim to claim a fixed continuing Facebook identity, but a fluid one.

As mentioned above, Manzi and colleagues (2018) stated that Facebook context is nonymous, providing little room for exploration of new identities. This thesis agrees that it is unlikely for Facebook users to construct an identity incongruent with their offline persona. This thesis, however, argues that the different aspects of identity which Facebook users construct are not necessarily incongruent, but can all be congruent with their offline persona. Previous literature has discussed the fluidity of identity, which is flexible (Papacharissi, 2010), liquid (Bauman & Haugaard, 2008), reflexive (Giddens, 1991) and an ongoing process (Jenkins, 2006) in response to a variety of situational contexts (Goffman, 1956). The present findings corroborate the notion that identity is fluid, and in addition suggest that Facebook users flexibly explore and display the aspects of identity that fulfil their distinctiveness and meaning needs. Referring back to the descriptive statistics, distinctiveness yielded the highest mean compared with the other motives. In the path analysis, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure shows that distinctiveness and meaning are the only motives that predict behavioural outcomes through both perceived centrality and identity exploration. The findings indicate that Facebook users present the central aspects of their identity and explore any possible aspects of identity that could satisfy their distinctiveness and meaning motives. As aforementioned, subjective uncertainty reduction theory proposes that meaningful distinctiveness gives people a sense of existence (Hogg, 2000). To strive for a meaningful sense of who they are, people are motivated to find a way to distinguish themselves from others (Vignoles, 2011). For example, as discussed in the literature review of this thesis, a person finds their identity as a musician meaningful when his/her musical ability could differentiate him/her from others in a social context. On the other hand, when that person's musical ability is less

satisfactory than that of other musicians, such identity becomes less self-defining. That person may explore and display other aspects of identity to make him/her feel more meaningful, rather than identifying as a musician (Vignoles et al., 2000, 2008).

In the nonymous Facebook context, Facebook News Feed is filled with friends' activities to show off what they are up to (de Vries & Kühne, 2015). Social comparison among users becomes blatant, pushing users to explore other self-defining aspects of self to be noticeable among friends. The impetus of social comparison urges users to explore a unique self-defining identity (distinctiveness) in order to have a greater sense of existence (meaning) on Facebook. Facebook users can find meaning from their Profiles when the central aspects of their identity are distinctive, otherwise they explore other possible self-defining identity to stand out from social contexts. The aspects of identity are not fixed but have the potential to alter. Facebook users construct and reconstruct their identity to show the different aspects in response to different contexts (Papacharissi, 2010; Vignoles, 2011). Therefore, this thesis argues that identity is fluid, and that people move along the identity continuum to explore and present different aspects of their identity responding to their identity needs.

4.4.4 Direct Influence on Behavioural Outcomes

In the present path analysis, two direct effects were found whereby efficacy and belonging appeared to have a direct influence on Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures respectively. Efficacy refers to people's capacity to act on the environment, whereas belonging refers to having a place in the environment. The present model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, shows that efficacy and belonging are more relevant to people's relationship with the external world than to their internal cognitions. In Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) pivotal paper on identity motives, they found that efficacy and

belonging contributed indirectly to perceived centrality but directly to identity enactment. Participants reported that they engaged more in the everyday actions that could fulfil efficacy and belonging, showing that it makes theoretical sense that efficacy and belonging demonstrate direct effects on the behavioural domain of identity enactment in the present model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure.

People are motivated to see themselves as capable of controlling over the external world (efficacy) and accepted by others (belonging) (Vignoles, 2011). According to self-determination theory, autonomy, competence, and relatedness are basic human needs, to which people generally strive to satisfy through actions (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 2000). The invention of user-generated content empowers Facebook users to enact identity by generating contents that could satisfy the need for autonomy. The interface of Facebook Walls supports many functions, for example, sharing news, uploading images, posting long paragraphs, or broadcasting extended length live videos. Facebook users, as ordinary people, have a higher sense of efficacy when they perceive their voices could also be influential, which satisfy the need for competence (Betton et al., 2015). Profile Pictures present a single image that helps users be identified from the social network. Users are conscious in selection of and editing Profile Pictures to project an idealised image based on social norms. Recently, a special feature exclusive to Profile Picture is the application of a cause-related photo frame over the Profile Picture to express support for movement affairs, campaigns, or social causes. Adding the photo frame increases solidarity in supporting certain events (K. J. Wilson & Cohen, 2019). A socially accepted image increases a sense of belonging that helps maintain and expand social circles, which satisfies the need for relatedness (Winston, 2013).

4.5 Conclusion of Study 1

The overall aims of Study 1 were to examine identity motives and Facebook identity construction, and to test a model with clear separation of motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity structure. Since its launch in 2004, Facebook has become the most popular social media platform. Manzi and colleagues (2018) attributed the success of Facebook partly to the accessibility of identity-related processes in terms of self-discovery, self-presentation, and identity management. The present conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, indicates that people perceive their identity on Facebook as fluid rather than fixed. Users are more likely to enact the identity elements which they perceive are central to their identity. Study 1 examined identity motives in the Facebook environment, illustrating variations of motivated identity construction theory in different sociocultural contexts. People's motivation in constructing identity could influence their cognitive processing of information and decisions (Zuckerman, 1979). The following chapter will explore news framing and identity motives with qualitative research.

Table 3. Intercorrelations among the measures in Study 1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Self-esteem	--											
2. Efficacy	.78**	--										
3. Continuity	.57**	.58**	--									
4. Distinctiveness	.56**	.51**	.56**	--								
5. Meaning	.58**	.63**	.60**	.53**	--							
6. Belonging	.56**	.46**	.54**	.55**	.64**	--						
7. Perceived centrality	.69**	.67**	.57**	.62**	.73**	.62**	--					
8. Identity exploration	.44**	.42**	.42**	.46**	.53**	.41**	.49**	--				
9. Need for cognition	.02	.02	.00	.11	.01	-.06	.02	.10	--			
10. Smartphone use	.35**	.32**	.31**	.28**	.34**	.27**	.40**	.38**	-.06	--		
11. Facebook Wall	.39**	.37**	.29**	.32**	.27**	.35**	.37**	.28**	.07	.12*	--	
12. Profile Picture	.40**	.25**	.32**	.39**	.34**	.41**	.39**	.40**	.02	.21**	.39**	--

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 4. Results summary for structural equation modelling in Study 1

	χ^2	P value	df	CMIN/DF	GFI	NFI	RFI	TLI	CFI	RMSEA
Initial run	46.774	$p = .001$	21	2.227	.970	.969	.920	.954	.982	.068
Modified model	29.536	$p = .058$	19	1.555	.981	.981	.944	.979	.993	.046

Figure 4. Revised model of Motivational Facebook Identity Structure

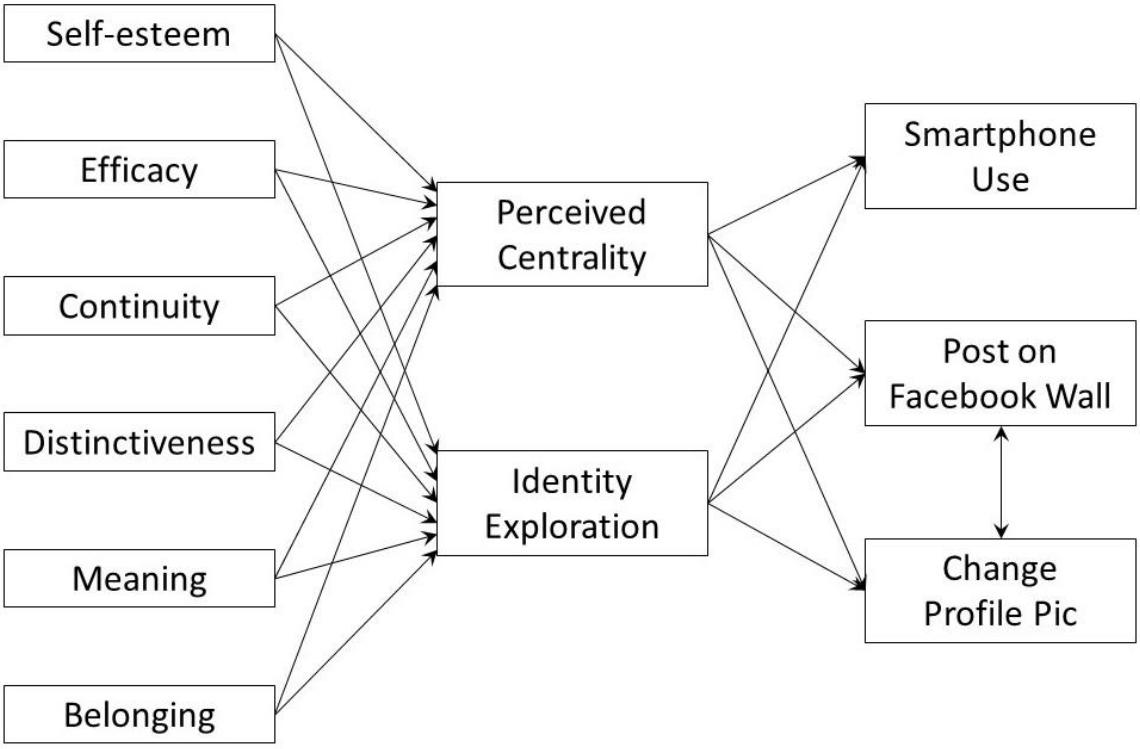


Figure 5. Output of the initial run of model testing

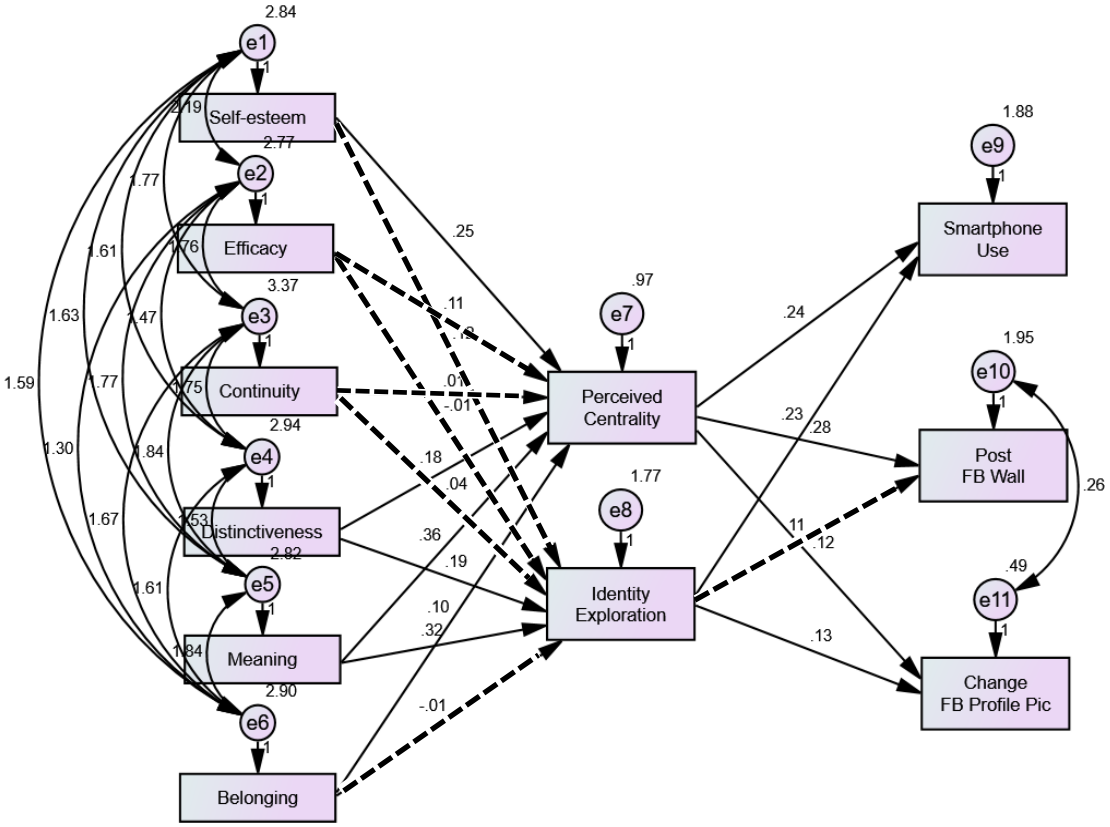
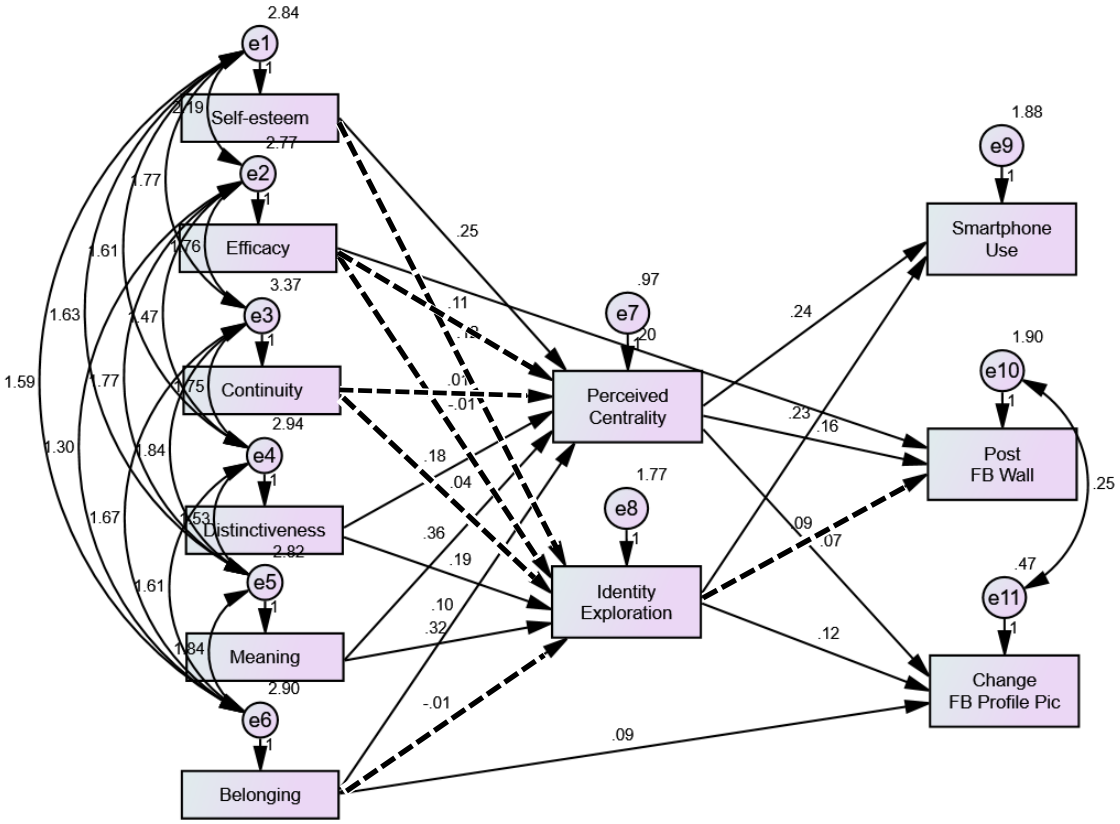


Figure 6. Output of modified model of Motivational Facebook Identity Structure



CHAPTER 5

Study 2: Appealing to Identity Motives in News Framing

5.1 Background

The main purpose of this thesis is to investigate the motivational influences on cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction. According to boyd and Ellison's (2008), a profile and social connection are two features that could define social media. In the previous chapter, Study 1, the motives of identity construction on profiles of Facebook were examined. Considering the feature of social connection, the present chapter focused on examining identity motives on Facebook News Feeds on which social interaction occurs on such interface. On Facebook News Feed, users can see and react to the content created or shared by other Facebook users, including the Facebook posts created by news media. While presenting news, news media use framing to select and present some ideas of an event. News framing involves cognitive processes of writers and readers in co-constructing meanings in the news event (William A Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Goffman, 1974; McQuail, 1994). Nevertheless, how news media appealed to readers' identity motives through framing of the news stories have largely ignored in the existing literature. Study 2, reported in this chapter, attempted to fill the gap by exploring how news media appealed to the six motives of identity construction in news framing. Previous research on framing has demonstrated that different presentations of news stories directed readers to interpret, perceive, and evaluate the events in particular ways (Entman, 2007; Gwarjanski & Parrott, 2017; B. S. Kim et al., 2002; Sieff, 2003). By examining how news stories were framed to appeal to identity motives, the present study

helped answer how identity motives influenced the cognitive dimension of Facebook identity construction. The findings of the present study would inform Study 3 about the appealed identity motives so that Study 3 would further investigate how the news framing might instigate Facebook users' comments for satisfying identity motives.

When Facebook users scroll through News Feed, they are exposed to news posts (Müller et al., 2016). Knobloch-Westerwick and Meng (2009) found that participants selectively exposed themselves to and spent longer on reading the news excerpts which were consistent with participants' own attitude. Further, Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall (2010) conducted experiments to try to explain the selective exposure in the former paper. They found that attitude-consistent news created cognitive congruence with participants' existing belief, and such cognitive process enhanced participants' self-esteem, driving the selective exposure. In other words, news that could make readers feel good about themselves is more likely to attract readers' attention. As reviewed in Chapter 2, motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) proposes that people are not only motivated to see themselves in a positive light (self-esteem motive). They are also driven to think they are competent (efficacy motive), to believe their identities are continuous over time (continuity motive), to distinguish themselves from others (distinctiveness motive), to find their existence meaningful (meaning motive) and to be accepted in social contexts (belonging motive). In this sense, news stories framed to prompt identity motives might draw more attention. However, existing literature on news framing has largely ignored the notion of identity motives. To fill the gap, in this chapter, an in-depth examination was conducted to explore how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing. To answer this question, the present study incorporated the six identity motives in motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into Giles and Shaw's (2009) Media Framing

Analysis for examining identity motives in news framing. The analysis procedure, findings and discussion were shown below.

5.2 The Analysis of Identity Motives in News Framing

The present study aimed to understand how news of mental health was framed to evoke identity motives. When reviewing methods in existing literature, Giles and Shaw's (2009) Media Framing Analysis stood out on account of its theoretical and methodological frameworks. Giles and Shaw (2009) argued that framing studies in the media communication discipline has generally overemphasised the text-based framing devices, such as narrative, but overlooked the psychological effects those devices imposed on the recipients. One of the differences between studies in media communication and psychology disciplines is that psychological research is interested in people's subjective experience of media materials (Giles & Shaw, 2009). Framing involves cognitive processes, by which readers understand the events through their subjective experience, their own interpretation and knowledge shared with the writers (Bransford & Johnson, 1972, as cited in Giles & Shaw, 2009). Giles and Shaw (2009) posited that framing analysis should include psychological elements in the theoretical framework. As proposed in narrative transportation theory (Green & Brock, 2000), emotional immersion is a primary mechanism of narrative persuasion. When people identify with the characters in the story, they are emotionally involved and visualise themselves in a similar situation (Braverman, 2008). Accordingly, Giles and Shaw (2009) put forward reader identification in their Media Framing Analysis framework to understand the persuasion in framing devices. However, their framing analysis has still overlooked people's motivation directing them to identify with the characters in the news story and to comprehend the news incident. Therefore, the present study has incorporated the six identity motives in

motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into the framework of Media Framing Analysis to examine how news appealed to identity motives that might draw reader identification. The analysis process is explained in the next section.

Another reason the present study adopted Media Framing Analysis was its methodological flexibility. The initial Media Framing Analysis is composed of eight stages: initial data collection, screening, identifying story, identifying character, reader identification, narrative form, analysis of language categories, and generalisation (Giles & Shaw, 2009). Previous studies on Media Framing Analysis responded to different contexts and theoretical frameworks to reorganise the stages. For example, Shaw and Giles (2009) established a five-step analysis framework whereas Giles, Shaw and Morgan (2009) established a more concise framework, a four-step analysis. The present study adopted the four-step analysis of the latter paper and integrated the six identity motives into the methodological framework. The present framing analysis consisted of five steps: data collection, screening, identifying identity motives, identifying characters and reader identification, and analysis of narrative form. The procedure and justification are demonstrated below.

5.3 Examination Procedures

5.3.1 Data Collection

The first step in data collection was selection of newspapers. According to Chan and colleagues' (2015) research on terminology of mental illness in Hong Kong newspapers, they first selected newspapers and then searched news stories reported by those selected newspapers. Their criteria of newspaper selection were: 1) printed mainstream dailies; 2) in Chinese language; and 3) covering mainly news of Hong Kong general and public affairs. They then selected the top three circulated newspapers (S. K. W. Chan et al.,

2015). The present study adopted Chan and colleagues' (2015) selection criteria, except the selection of newspaper circulation. Chan and colleagues' (2015) considered newspaper circulation as an indicator of readership. As the present study mainly focused on news reported on Facebook, newspaper circulation was replaced by the numbers of Likes of official Facebook Pages, which could indicate readership to a certain extent. Facebook Page is a platform on Facebook. Organisations, such as news media, are free to create Facebook Pages on Facebook to connect with fans or readers. When Facebook users like or follow a newspaper's Facebook Page, they start seeing updates from the Page in their News Feed. Higher number of Likes of a Page signifies its posts could reach more Facebook users on the News Feed (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). On Facebook Page, a blue badge indicates such a Page was verified as an authentic one. The present study selected newspapers based on the number of Likes of their official Facebook Pages. The Like button and blue badge are illustrated in Figure 7. The numbers of Likes of newspapers' official Facebook Pages were recorded as of 13th June 2017, the date this thesis received ethical approval. The top three Facebook Pages accumulating the highest number of Likes were: Apple Daily, Ming Pao Daily and Oriental Daily. The number of Likes and the links of their official Facebook Pages are shown in Table 5. After the newspaper selection, news stories were searched for on Facebook Pages.

The present study focused on news stories about mental disorders, in particular news regarding depression. Depression is the most commonly diagnosed mental disorder, affecting 350 million people worldwide (Z. Ma, 2017). It is projected to be the number one leading cause of public health burden by 2030 (Zhang et al., 2016). Depression affects emotion and cognitive functions that could impair performance at work, school and in the family. In addition, depression is a risk factor for suicide attempts (Vander Stoep et al., 2011). However, there has not been enough awareness of depression on account of

ignorance and stigma (Link et al., 2001). Media coverage has an impact on public attitudes towards mental disorders (Y. Zhang et al., 2015) and stigmatisation of mental disorders is one of the barriers that keeps people from seeking help (Ben-Porath, 2002). The issues of mental disorders should not be ignored whereby people in poor physical and mental health have higher mortality rates than those having only physical health problems (Liu et al., 2017). It is important to investigate the news framing of mental disorders, in particular, depression.

To search for news of depression, Chinese equivalent search terms for *depressed* (抑鬱), and *mood* (情緒) were used since these two terms entailed the meaning of depression and mood disorder in Chinese and were interchangeable in local Hong Kong culture (Chung & Wong, 2004; Y. Zhang et al., 2015). The Facebook search function was used to search for search terms in the Facebook Pages of the three selected newspapers: Apple Daily, Ming Pao Daily and Oriental Daily. The search was limited to Facebook posts created from 1st January 2016 to 31st December 2016. A total of 275 Facebook posts were initially collected for further screening in next step.

Figure 7. Illustration of Like button and blue badge of Facebook Page

Table 5. The selected newspapers

Newspapers	Links of official Facebook Pages	Number of Likes of the Facebook Pages
Apple Daily	https://www.facebook.com/hk.nextmedia/	2,107,931
Ming Pao Daily	https://www.facebook.com/mingpaoinews	330,157
Oriental Daily	https://www.facebook.com/onccnews/	296,314

5.3.2 Screening

As mentioned in the previous step, Chinese equivalent search terms for *depressed* (抑鬱), and *mood* (情緒) were used to perform the search, and a total of 275 Facebook posts were collected. However, of those outcomes, some posts did not appear to include the search terms in the news posts. Furthermore, some posts were unrelated to depression, or they were not local news. The present Researcher performed an initial skimming on the 275 Facebook posts, and excluded 201 posts due to lack of the search terms in the news posts, posts being unrelated to depression, or posts not being local news. After the skimming, the Researcher performed a further screening on the 74 posts for their relevance (Au et al., 2004). News stories which provided insufficient information about depression or were not pertinent to depression were screened out. For example, a news story which slightly touched on depression but mainly focused on a breakup of a celebrity couple was screened out because it did not provide sufficient information as to whether depression was related to the breakup. After screening, 22 news posts were excluded. A dataset of 52 news posts remained for identifying identity motives in next step.

5.3.3 Identifying Identity Motives

In the original Media Framing Analysis, Giles and Shaw (2009) proposed this step to identify and categorise news stories into themes. In the present study, identifying news stories were drawn on the six identity motives proposed in motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011). In Chapter 2 of this thesis, Vignoles and his co-authors' extensive works on identity motives, including development and definitions, have been reviewed (for example, papers of Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell (2002), Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, et al., (2006) and Vignoles (2011) were reviewed). To have a clear understanding

of how identity motives were identified, the following paragraphs illustrated the characteristics of the six motives, including quotes of the present news stories as examples.

5.3.3.1 Self-esteem.

According to Gecas (1982), the self-esteem motive is the need to maintain and increase a positive concept of the self. One way to satisfy the self-esteem motive is to show off achievement (Selim et al., 2014). For Vignoles (2011), self-esteem is a universal motive, but people in different cultures use different strategies to maintain and enhance self-esteem. For example, Becker and colleague (2014) found that participants from a more collectivist culture were more likely to relate their self-esteem to their duty in the identity role. Hong Kong Chinese people, living in the bicultural context, adopt a collectivist culture to a certain extent (mentioned in Chapter 2). Hong Kong Chinese parents believe high academic achievement is their children's duty and they feel proud of their children's academic achievement (M. T. Y. Lee et al., 2006). The present study found that news appealed to self-esteem in the aspects of parental expectation in academic achievement. Some other news stories drew readers' attention to self-esteem from the perspective threats to self-esteem. Characteristics of self-esteem and quotes from news stories were shown below. News stories which appealed to self-esteem were discussed in the Findings and Discussion section.

Characteristics	Quotes from news stories as examples
• Achievement	• Parents demanded academic excellence from children: ○ "*Parents assume that children's future prosperity depends solely on academic excellence*."

• Positive conception of oneself (In Hong Kong Chinese culture, *face* could be defined as self-esteem. Explanation was in the Findings and Discussion section)	• News reported that cosmetic surgery harmed an actress's appearance and threatened her self-esteem: o "*The cosmetic surgery may damage her appearance. She fears losing face; therefore, she shuns publicity*." • An experienced counselling volunteer gave an account that Hong Kong people were reluctant to disclose their emotional issues to protect their self-esteem: o "*Hong Kong people are under heavy stress. They always encounter emotional problems but refuse to disclose their problems to save face*."

5.3.3.2 Efficacy.

Competence and control are the major characteristics of the efficacy motive (Breakwell, 1993). People strive to construct an identity to show that they are capable of acting on their surrounding and influencing others. Their efficacy motive could be satisfied when they make efforts to overcome difficulties (Vignoles et al., 2006). In the present study, news stories evoke readers' sense of efficacy while promoting help-seeking behaviour. For example, an actor shared his recovery story and urged people to seek medical treatment.

Characteristics	Quotes from news stories as examples
• Competence	• A politician shared his experience of taking the initiative to face depression. o "*Take the initiative to seek medical treatment. Get along with the disorder.*

	Cheung (his surname) *gets out of the dark haze of depression*."
• Make an effort to overcome difficulty	• News reported a patient from a psychiatric hospital making an effort to practice art therapy to "*wipe out depression*": o "*A recovered patient used sand painting to wipe out depression*."
• Take control over one's situation	• News promoted doing exercise to reduce negative emotions: o "*Let's go hiking with friends to de-stress. Kick negative emotions away*."
• Act to influence others	• An actor recovered from mood disorders. He urged people to seek medical treatment: o "*Actively tackle depression… He urges people to see a doctor if they have mental disorders*."

5.3.3.3 Continuity.

The continuity motive is the drive to maintain a stable and enduring core identity, which persists across time and situation (Breakwell, 1986, as cited in Vignoles et al., 2006) and connects one's past, present, and future self (Vignoles et al., 2006). The present study found news stories drew attention to one's family of origin, born to be ordinary or rich, to enact a continuous identity. Vignoles (2011) mentioned that the continuity motive can also be a progressive construction process towards a positive identity. By way of illustration, one of the news stories featured a medical treatment process and conveyed a message that the identity of having depression could progressively change to be a more positive one, a recovered patient. Other characteristics of continuity and quotes of news stories were shown below. News stories that appealed to this motive are discussed in Findings and Discussion section.

Characteristics	Quotes from news stories as examples
• Personal consistency	• An actor's personal consistent quality, personality, offended people: o "*Wong's* (his surname) *personality costs him job opportunities. He has financial difficulties that pushed him over the edge into depression*."
• Stable and enduring core identity	• News pointed to the enduring negative perception of mental disorders in the society might affect people to seek help: o "*The negative labelling of mental illnesses discourages patients to seek medical treatment*." • News appealed to family of origin. People were born to be ordinary or rich. o "*Ordinary people have to wait forever*."
• Connecting past, present and future self	• People's fates as ordinary or rich were decided when they were born: o "*We have different fates*." • News prompted a wave of nostalgia for schooldays: o "*Looking back, my childhood was really happy*."
• Progressive construction of a positive identity	• An identity of having depression could progressively change to a recovered patient: o "*Having illnesses; receiving treatment; and recovery*"

5.3.3.4 Distinctiveness.

Distinctiveness is a sense of differentiation from others. People strive to find elements in their identity that could differentiate themselves from others (Vignoles et al., 2006). Early research has proposed that distinctiveness was stronger in individualistic cultures, in which highlighted uniqueness and individual achievement, than that in collectivist cultures, in which emphasised group harmony and common goals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Snyder & Fromkin, 1980; Triandis, 1995). However, there were arguments that distinctiveness should be a universal motive, or this motive is even stronger in collectivistic cultures than in individualistic cultures (Becker et al., 2012). More recently, cross-cultural research has showed that people in different cultures are also motivated by distinctiveness. For example, Vignoles and Moncaster (2007) compared participants in the UK and Germany, and Eriksson, Becker and Vignoles (2011) compared participants in the UK and Sweden. Becker and colleagues (2012) conducted a large-scale study involving 21 cultural groups for examining the three constructs of distinctiveness motive: difference, separateness and social position. For Becker and colleagues (2012), difference refers to the various qualities in people, such as abilities, opinions, personality, and appearance. Separateness is defined as boundedness, which keeps a physical and symbolic distance from others. Social position refers to the distinctiveness in social status, and in one's role within social relationships, including family, friendships, and kinship ties. Becker and colleagues (2012) found outcomes consistent with previous research that people in different cultures are motivated to construct a distinctive identity. Furthermore, their results showed that participants from individualistic cultures generally displayed higher focus on difference and separateness, whereas participants from collectivistic cultures demonstrated higher focus on social position. Their findings indicated that distinctiveness could be a universal motive; however, people in different cultures satisfied

this motive through different strategies: difference, separateness, and social position. Becker and colleagues' (2012) research findings were more robust than the previous studies (Eriksson et al., 2011; Vignoles & Moncaster, 2007) on examining distinctiveness. Becker and colleagues (2012) conducted their research in 21 cultural groups, and they were able to distinguish the three constructs of distinctiveness. In the present study, the three constructs of distinctiveness were also identified in the news narrative. The present findings, based on the bicultural context of Hong Kong, will be discussed in Findings and Discussion section.

Characteristics	Quotes from news stories as examples
• Difference: Distinctiveness in qualities	• News reported that people with different qualities, age differences, had different opportunities to access counselling services: o "*The percentage of young people having mental disorders is similar to that of adults. Nevertheless, they are far less likely to access counselling services compared to their adult counterparts*."
• Separateness: Physical or symbolic boundary	• News narrative used "different fate" to prompt symbolic distance to show that some people had advantages in the health care system: o "*Although we are all human, we have different fates*."
• Social position: Social status	• News appealed to different social status in the distinctiveness motive:

	○ "*The rich cannot understand the pressure which the ordinary people experience every day*." ○ "*Ordinary people with no power have to wait forever. The privileged can jump the queue*." ○ "*There will be only two types of people in Hong Kong*."

5.3.3.5 Meaning.

The meaning motive drives people to see themselves as a meaningful part of a meaningful world. They have a strong motivation to search for meaning in their existence (Baumeister, 1991, as cited in Vignoles, 2011), and to know the purpose and value of things which they participate in (Vignoles et al., 2006). As mentioned regarding the self-esteem motive, news stories criticised esteem-driven parental expectation in children's academic achievement. Some news stories questioned the purpose of studying when parents overemphasised academic results at the expense of children's mental health. Moreover, a meaningful existence in the world gives people hope. When people fail to find meaning, they feel hopeless, which is a predictor of depression (Disabato et al., 2017). In the present study, news stories largely appealed to the meaning motive from the perspective of hope. For example, news stories reported a psychiatrist's warning of depression symptoms, such as hopelessness and losing interests.

Characteristics	Quotes from news stories as examples
• Purpose	• News questioned the purpose of studying when parents overemphasised academic

	results at the expense of children's mental health: ○ "*The ramification of the draconian parental style. Is it worth sacrificing children's mental health for academic results?*"
• Search for meaning in life: Hope	• News mentioned symptoms of depression related to hope: ○ "*Hopelessness. Loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities.*" ○ "*He feels trapped in the elderly home … He feels hopeless and helpless*." ○ "*When people experience extreme frustration and disappointment, all hope and thoughts are shattered. I lost my marbles during the days I had depression*." • News urged family and friends to raise hope to help depression patients: ○ "*Bring hope to people with mental disorders*."

5.3.3.6 Belonging.

For Vignoles (2011), human beings are a social species, who have a survival need to be socially accepted. They have a strong belonging motive to develop closeness and relatedness with others while avoiding social rejection. In the present study, news stories mostly drew the sense of belonging to promote social support. For example, some news

narrative promoted group activities and another news story urged readers to adopt an attitude of acceptance towards depression.

Characteristics	Examples and quotes from news stories
• Social support	• News promoted social support: o "*Medical workers walk with patients*." o "(The Education Bureau*) advise parents to spend more time with and care more for children*."
• Closeness and relatedness	• News promoted group activities to appeal to belonging motive: o "*Together, we played tag or hide and seek.*" o "*Let's go hiking with friends*." o "*An NGO recommends that children could have benefit from joining group activities.*"
• Social acceptance	• News urged developing an inclusive environment to help people with depression: o "*We need to adopt an accepting attitude to let the pilots get rid of the dread*."
• Avoid social rejection	• News reported an elderly person experienced social rejection, caused by an unrequited attachment. o "*Although he sees his landlord as a friend, that person doesn't feel like that. He feels he is being abandoned*."

Based on the above characteristics of identity motives, a total of 33 out of 52 news posts were identified. The identified posts, including descriptions in such Facebook posts,

news headlines, lead paragraphs and images, were captured by NCapture, an add-on function of NVivo. (The captures included expansion of Facebook comments, which would be analysed in the next chapter.) The 33 news stories with quotes were listed in Table 6. An example of a Facebook news post is shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. An example of Facebook news post

5.3.4 Identifying Characters and Reader Identification

According to transportation theory, people undergo transportation if characters and related elements in stories remind them of their own experience and situation (Green & Brock, 2000). For Chamberlain and Hodgetts (2008), media content is socially constructed. When readers undergo transportation, they identify with the characters and interpret the events from the perspective of the characters. By way of illustration, Giles, Shaw and Morgan (2009) examined the news framing of voluntary childlessness. They found that childless employees were sometimes framed as "*crusaders*" (p. 1223) since they needed to cover for the colleagues with childcare demands. This framing could prompt reader identification with childless working adults, who also needed to share the workload of co-workers with children. However, the motivation of readers to identify with the characters was not examined in Giles, Shaw, and Morgan's (2009) paper. For example, whether identifying people as "*crusaders*" would increase their sense of competence was unknown. Therefore, the present study incorporated identity motives to understand the motivation to identify with the characters and related elements in the news narrative.

5.3.5 Analysis of Narrative Form

The analysis of the narrative form included examination of framing devices, such as language use, quotations, images, and other elements in news stories. Taking the same paper on news framing of voluntary childlessness as an example, Giles, Shaw, and Morgan (2009) found that news narratives put contrasting characters together, such as "*rags and riches*" (p. 1221) to intensify the conflicts. The similar framing device was also identified in the present study. As shown in Figure 9, the news story juxtaposed the images of an ordinary citizen with a pro-government politician to increase a strong sense of

distinctiveness which highlighted social inequality. (This news story was discussed in the Findings and Discussion section.)

Another point needed to bring up was the translation from Chinese news stories into English. van Nes, Abma, Jonsson and Deeg (2010) discussed the challenges of translating non-English qualitative data to English publication. Although direct translation may enhance the validity of qualitative research, it could lose the meaning of the original language, and in some cases direct translation made no sense to English readers. Take one of the news stories in the present study as an example: "*Same human different fate? Is it fair?*" (Apple Daily, 11th Jun 2016). This direct translation from Chinese to English was confusing. However, considering the context of the news, it was a sarcastic remark to expose social inequality by distinguishing the privileged from the underprivileged. The present study took the news context into consideration and balanced the translation of the original wordings and the meaning of the narrative. The translation became: "*Although we are all human, we have different fates. Is it fair?*" (This news story, shown in Figure 9, was discussed in Findings and Discussion section.).

van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, and Deeg (2010) considered that language could influence thinking patterns, and qualitative research involves in-depth thinking and reflection on the materials. Therefore, they recommended staying "in the original language as long and as much as possible" (p. 315) to reduce losing the original meaning throughout the process of analysis. In this sense, the present study followed their recommendation to examine the news stories based on the original Chinese language to decode the meanings in local culture. Translations were performed on selected quotes for this thesis (Kaufhold & Reuter, 2016).

Figure 9. The juxtaposition of contrasting characters

5.4 Findings and Discussion

The present study found that news appealed to identity motives. The findings of the six identity motives were discussed below. The 33 news stories and the appealed identity motives were summarised in Table 6

5.4.1 Self-esteem

People are motivated to maintain and enhance a positive conception of the self (Gecas, 1982). When self-esteem is threatened, they feel disappointed and depressed (Vignoles et al., 2006). The present study found that, when appealing to self-esteem, news narratives focused on the threat to the positive self-concept. For instance, news reported damage to physical appearance that caused depression: "*Spot baldness impedes attractiveness. A young female is distraught over hair loss that leads to depression*" (News no. 13, Oriental Daily, 1st April 2016). Physical appearance appeared to be an obstacle to a job seeker. News featured a man with a large part of his skull removed after a traffic accident, leaving him a noticeably collapsed skull: "*Appearance deters job seeking, which causes depression*" (News no. 18, Apple Daily, 11th June 2016). Previous literature has demonstrated that the outer self, appearance, is positively correlated with inner self, self-esteem. People who have a positive concept of self-appearance (outer self) tend to have a higher self-esteem (inner self). In contrast, those who have a negative concept of self-appearance are prone to having lower self-esteem (Harter, 2000).

Another news story associated physical appearance to a cultural variation of self-esteem, *face* (Fung, 1999). In Hong Kong Chinese culture, *face* can be defined as self-esteem and *losing face* can be understood as a threat to self-esteem (Fung, 1999). News mentioned that a young actress: "*Cheng* (her surname) *develops depression. The cosmetic surgery may damage her appearance. She fears losing face; therefore, she shuns*

publicity" (News No. 2, Oriental Daily, 29th January 2016). Some people undertake cosmetic surgery to improve their appearance (outer self) for self-esteem enhancement (inner self) (Harter, 2000). However, the cosmetic surgery turned out to jeopardise the actress's appearance, which threatened her self-esteem, and she had a feeling of "*losing face*".

Regarding *face,* more stories appealed to this cultural factor, for example, an interview with a counselling volunteer: "*Hong Kong people are under heavy stress. They always encounter emotional problems but refuse to disclose their problems to save face*" (News no. 30, Apple Daily, 23rd Nov 2016). Previous studies have found that stress is one of the environmental factors implicated in the depression epidemic (Brown & Harris, 1978; Weinberger et al., 2018). Peen, Schoevers, Beekman and Dekker (2010) reviewed the literature to conclude that people living in urban centres encounter a wider variety of stressors than those living in rural areas. Hong Kong is one of the fastest paced international cities in the world (Kirkcaldy et al., 2001). Hong Kong people, as city dwellers, are also under stress, whereby a survey found 12% of respondents reported having depression (News no. 23, Apple Daily, 15th October 2016). The actual or perceived *loss of fac*e are similar to the experience of shame in Western culture (Bedford, 2004). It could explain the counselling volunteer's account that Hong Kong people might feel ashamed to admit their emotional problems and concealed such problems.

Vignoles (2011) posited self-esteem as a universal motive; however, people in different cultures emphasise different value dimensions to satisfy this motive (Vignoles, 2011). In Hong Kong Chinese culture, parents derive self-esteem from their children's achievement (M. T. Y. Lee et al., 2006). News mentioned: "*Parents assume that children's future prosperity depends solely on academic excellence. Low achievers will have a bleak future*" (News no. 9, Ming Pao Daily, 14th March 2016). Becker and colleagues (2014)

conducted a cross-cultural study on self-esteem and found that people in the Western individualistic culture emphasise self-enhancement to increase individuals' self-esteem. In contrast, those in collectivist cultures derive self-esteem more from the identity aspects which are related to fulfilling one's duty (Becker et al., 2014). Hong Kong people, in the bicultural context, adopt a certain extent of collectivist culture (Hong et al., 2000). Many Hong Kong Chinese parents gain their self-esteem from their children's enhancement, and believe academic achievement is their children's duty (M. T. Y. Lee et al., 2006; Shek & Chan, 1999). The present findings supported Vignoles' (2011) postulation that people in different cultures are motivated to satisfy self-esteem but with different value dimensions.

5.4.2 Efficacy

The major characteristic of the efficacy motive is the need to know oneself to be competent in controlling the self, influencing others, and acting on any given situations (Vignoles et al., 2006). News featured recovery stories to increase people's sense of efficacy and encourage action to tackle depression. A politician shared his recovery story in a newspaper interview, which promoted help-seeking: "*Take the initiative to seek medical treatment. Get along with the disorder. Cheung* (his surname) *gets out of the dark haze of depression*" (News no. 5, Ming Pao Daily, 8th March 2016). Another news story described an actor's determined attitude to overcome depression and motivated people to do exercise and seek medical treatment: "*Actively tackle depression, Ngan* (the actor's surname) *practices Tai Chi* (Chinese physical exercise) *with friends. He urges people to see a doctor if they have mental disorders*" (News, no. 16, Ming Pao Daily, 1st June 2016). Besides the stories of a politician and an actor, news also featured an ordinary citizen's recovery story while introducing an Open Day at Castle Peak Hospital, a renowned psychiatric hospital in Hong Kong. The news narrative described the psychiatric hospital

as: "*a health care treatment centre for people with mental disorders*". This narrative implied that people could recover from mental disorders and regain mental health with the help of medical treatment. The news went on: "*a recovered patient of Castle Peak Hospital used sand painting* (art therapy) *to wipe out depression. S/he motivates people to seek help*" (News no. 32, Ming Pao Daily, 4th December 2016). Previous research found individuals high in self-efficacy are prone to set higher goals for themselves, try harder, and persist longer when encountering setbacks (Bandura, 2001, as cited in Vignoles, 2011). News introduced recovery stories and the techniques those characters used, such as seeking medical treatment, doing exercise, and practicing art therapy, which could enhance people's efficacy in overcoming depression.

Depression is associated with chronic stress (Brown & Harris, 1978; Weinberger et al., 2018). Some news stories focused on stress-induced depression and urged people to seek help: "*As city dwellers, you are stressed. So am I. If you have unresolved depression issues, do not suppress them. It is important to see a doctor*" (News no. 31, Apple Daily, 28th November 2016). A non-government organisation (NGO) found 12% of Hong Kong people reported having depression. The NGO set up booths for people to understand their condition. The news reported:

> Living in Hong Kong is stressful. It is pretty normal to have either big or small emotional issues. What most important is to face it. 12% of Hong Kong people have depression. A non-government organisation sets up booths on the streets to offer free assessments (News no. 23, Apple Daily, 15th October 2016).

The news narrative used a casual tone, such as "*pretty normal*", to suggest having depression was not a big deal. It juxtaposed informal wordings "*big or small emotional issues*" with formal tone, such as "*important to face it*", to convey the central message:

take action to face depression. After calling for action, it suggested as a solution that people could visit the booths to have a free assessment. These framing devices appealed to efficacy which could motivate people to take action to tackle depression.

5.4.3 Continuity

People generally perceive the core parts of their identity as stable and enduring. With such an identity, they associate a greater sense of self-continuity connecting past, present and future (Vignoles, 2011). News reported that an ordinary citizen, who urgently needed medical treatment, had been waiting for almost a year for an appointment. Nevertheless, two pro-government politicians with mild medical conditions received prompt arrangements. The news narrative: "*Although we are all human beings, we have different fates. Ordinary citizens await surgery for a year*" (News no. 17, Apple Daily, 11th June 2016). The word "*fate*" alluded to a long-term continuous condition and induced the sense of a stable and enduring core identity as an "*ordinary citizen*". The narrative suggested that, as ordinary citizens, it was their fate to wait such a long time for medical appointment. (This news was also discussed in distinctiveness.)

Other news stories appealed to continuity by remarking a personal consistent quality, personality. For example, news attributed depression to perfectionism: "*Perfectionists, who require everything to be perfect, develop depression more easily. When they cannot achieve the expected goal, they fill with dismay and self-blame*" (News no. 25, Oriental Daily, 1st November 2016). Another news item mentioned that an actor was a straightforward person who always offended people: "*Wong's (his surname) personality costs him job opportunities. He has financial difficulties that pushed him over the edge into depression*" (News no. 1, Oriental Daily, 3rd January 2016). Previous research found that some personal consistent qualities are associated with depression, such as

perfectionism (Hewitt et al., 1996) and poor interpersonal skills (Thapar et al., 2012). Hewitt and colleagues (1996) conducted a longitudinal study to show that perfectionism is an ongoing and persistent trait across time and situation. People high in perfectionism are more vulnerable to depression.

While continuity indicates an enduring core identity, Vignoles and colleagues (2006) also mentioned that this motive could be a progressive construction of a positive identity. The aforementioned news item regarding Castle Peak Hospital introduced a patient practicing sand painting to overcome depression. The news illustrated the progress of treatment: "*Having illnesses; receiving treatment; and recovery*" (News no. 32, Ming Pao Daily, 4th December 2016). The narrative appealed to the continuity motive in the progressive construction notion that the identity of having depression progressively changed to a more positive one, a recovered patient.

5.4.4 Distinctiveness

As mentioned, Becker and colleagues (2012) conducted a large-scale cross-cultural piece of research to examine the three constructs of distinctiveness: difference, separateness and social position. They found that people in different cultures are motivated to satisfy the distinctiveness motive but with different strategies. People in individualistic cultures generally used difference and separateness whereas those in collectivistic cultures mostly focussed more on social position. In the present study, based on the bicultural context of Hong Kong, all the three constructs of distinctiveness were identified in the news narrative. However, the use of social position appeared to send a stronger message than difference and separateness.

Difference is the first construct of distinctiveness, which refers to the various qualities in people, such as abilities, opinions, personality, and appearance (Becker et al.,

2012). For example, news reported that people of different ages had different opportunities to access counselling services: "*The percentage of young people having mental disorders is similar to that of adults. Nevertheless, they are far less likely to access counselling services compared to their adult counterparts*" (News no. 8, Ming Pao Daily, 13th March 2016). Another construct of distinctiveness is separateness, which refers to the boundedness whereby people keep a physical and symbolic distance from others (Becker et al., 2012). As mentioned above, a news story reported an ordinary citizen, needing urgent medical care, had been waiting for almost a year for an appointment. In contrast, pro-government politicians with mild medical conditions received prompt treatment. The news narrative skilfully put two contrasting concepts together: "*Although we are all human, we have different fates*" (News no. 17, Apple Daily, 11th June 2016). "*We are all human*" alluded to fairness among human beings, whereas "*different fates*" emphasised a symbolic distance between ordinary people and the privileged.

The third construct is social position, which is defined as distinctiveness in social status, and in one's role within social relationships (Becker et al., 2012). The present study found the social position of distinctiveness was mostly used to emphasise the gap between ordinary people and the privileged. For example, some news stories directed the attention to the contrast in different social status between government officials and students. In 2016, when 22 students committed suicide within six months, the alarm bells started to ring (R. Zhang, 2017). A journalist integrated some cohort studies and reported that stress-induced depression was an imperative social problem. News interviewed an anonymous citizen: "*This crisis increases day by day. It doesn't make sense that the Secretary of Education proposes to have the survey six months later. I believe many people perceive that the government doesn't value the precious lives of students*" (News no. 9, Ming Pao Daily, 14th March 2016). The narrative highlighted a gap between the two social positions,

government officials (higher status in the society) and students (general public). Another news interviewed a teacher, who excoriated the government officials for pushing students over the edge: "*The school schedule is horribly packed. High-ranking government officials, why don't you let the students have some rest?*" (News no. 6, Apple Daily, 9th March 2016). This narrative drew the attention to the contrast between high-ranking government officials and students. When people largely pointed the finger at government officials, they also expected the corresponding Youth Committee to take some responsibility for the mood problems among young people. A property tycoon, surnamed Lau, was appointed by the government as Vice Chairman of the Youth Development Committee. Lau was reproached for lack of concrete action when: "*60% of young people reported feeling pessimistic*" (News no. 22, Apple Daily, 10th October 2016). The news narrative especially focused on Lau's well-off background to highlight the contrast between the rich and ordinary people. An image in the news depicted Lau's wry smile showing his apathetic attitude with a description: "*The rich cannot understand the pressure which the ordinary people experience every day*" (News no. 22, Apple Daily, 10th October 2016). The narrative indicated Lau's background was too good to understand the struggle of the general public.

Another example of news appealing to the social position of distinctiveness exposed social inequality. A man, surnamed Wu, had a traffic accident leaving him a collapsed skull. Although Wu urgently needed to have his skull restored, he had been waiting for a surgery appointment at a public hospital for almost a year. Wu eventually developed depression and had suicidal thoughts because of his predicament. At the same time, the news reported that two pro-government politicians with mild medical conditions received treatment promptly at public hospitals. The news presented Wu's incident juxtaposition with those of the two pro-government politicians, which highlighted the contrast in the

social status between ordinary people and the privileged. The news mentioned: "*Sooner or later, there will be only two types of people in Hong Kong. The privileged have priority in public hospitals. The rich can afford to go to private hospitals. What about those underprivileged? They are not human*" (News no. 19, 11th June 2016). The news further cited Wu's complaint: "*Ordinary people with no power have to wait forever. The privileged can jump the queue*" (News no. 20, 12th June 2016). As shown in Figure 9, the news story placed the image of Wu next to that of a pro-government politician to strengthen the contrast. The skilful use of social position prompted a strong sense of unfairness between ordinary people and the privileged.

5.4.5 Meaning

People are motivated to see themselves as a meaningful part of a meaningful world (Vignoles, 2011). Feeling of hopelessness and loss of meaning in life are associated with depression (Disabato et al., 2017). A psychiatrist was interviewed about students' emotional issues: "*Dr Lee recommends the parents take children to doctors if their children display these signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*" (News no. 3, Apple Daily, 8th March 2016). Some parents overemphasise academic performance, which puts too much stress on their children (Law & Shek, 2016; R. Zhang, 2017). News reported a girl developing depression on account of her family's extreme expectation on academic results. The news complained that learning merely for higher marks lost its meaning: "*Is it worth sacrificing children's mental health for academic results?*" (News no. 29, Apple Daily, 20th November 2016). Lee and colleagues (2006) found that perceived parental dissatisfaction in academic performance is positively correlated with depression, test anxiety and suicidal thoughts. Their path analysis indicated that perceived parental

dissatisfaction in academic performance and test anxiety predicted suicidal thoughts stemming from depression. Children endeavour to achieve academic excellence to fulfil parents' aspiration at the expense of mental health (M. T. Y. Lee et al., 2006).

Previous literature has found that negative life events and hopelessness are predictors of depression (Disabato et al., 2017). News interviewed an old man who was not able to leave an elderly home after having an accident: "*He feels trapped in the elderly home. Every day, he just waits for mealtime, TV time and sleep time. He feels hopeless and helpless. He becomes depressed because of losing autonomy*" (News no. 38, Oriental Daily, 3rd November 2016). The old man felt trapped and lost the sense of meaning and purpose in life. Disabato and colleagues (2017) conducted a longitudinal study and found that meaning in life reduced symptoms of depression. A depression patient recommended: "*Bring hope to people with mental disorders*" (News no. 11, Ming Pao Daily, 18th March 2016) to help people overcome depression.

5.4.6 Belonging

People have an urge to be socially accepted, since humans are a social species and poorly adapted for survival alone (Vignoles, 2011). The present study found that the belonging motive was largely used in the form of social support. Group activities were emphasised to overcome depression, "*Let's go hiking with friends to de-stress. Kick negative emotions away*" (News no. 21, Apple Daily, 9th October 2016). News reported: "*An NGO recommends that children could be benefited from joining group activities*" since "*children's perceived happiness has largely reduced from 73.8% in 2008 to 57.1% in 2016*" (News no. 14, Oriental Daily, 3rd April 2016). A singer, who recovered from a mood disorder, openly discussed her experience and offered recommendation on how to treat people with emotional issues: "*They* (mental health patients) *want to have listeners.*

Loo (her surname) overcomes the lowest point of life. She encourages young people: You are not alone" (News no. 12, Oriental Daily, 19th March 2016). The aforementioned news item regarding Castle Peak Hospital showed social support to encourage people with depression: "*Medical workers walk with patients*" (News no. 32, Ming Pao Daily, 4th December 2016). Previous literature has examined the positive effect of social support on depression in the offline context (Chi & Chou, 2001; Meadows et al., 2006). Most recently, social media research has demonstrated that perceived social support could significantly reduce Facebook users' depressive mood (Frison & Eggermont, 2015). Zhang (2017) tested perceived social support and enacted social support on Facebook. She found that both types of social support could alleviate Facebook users' depressive symptoms. These studies supported the view that social support in both offline and online contexts could have a positive effect on depression.

Table 6. A summary of news stories and the appealed identity motives

No.	News stories and newspaper sources	Identity motives	Quotes appeal to identity motives	Characters
1	An actor was prone to speak his mind, which always offended people. Oriental Daily, 3rd January 2016	Continuity	"*Wong's personality costs him job opportunities. He has financial difficulties that pushed him over the edge into depression.*"	• Actor (Public figure)
2	Cosmetic surgery damaged an actress's appearance, which threatened her self-esteem. Oriental Daily, 29th January 2016	Self-esteem	"*The cosmetic surgery may damage her appearance. She fears losing face; therefore, she shuns publicity.*"	• Actress (Public figure)
3	That was the 18th case of student suicide in this academic year. A student amateur, who didn't like studying, plunged to death. Dr Lee pointed out that parents should take children to doctors if children displayed these warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities.	Efficacy	"*Perceived incompetence*"	• Psychiatrist (professional) • Parents • Children • Students
		Meaning	"*Hopelessness*" "*Loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*"	
		Belonging	"*Lack of social support*" "*Parents should take children to doctor*"	

	This news story suggested having depression could threaten efficacy, meaning and belonging motives. Apple Daily, 8th March 2016			
4	The 19th case of a student plunging to his/her death since the commencement of this academic year. Dr Lee points out that parents should take children to doctors if they discover their children display these warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities. Apple Daily, 8th March 2016	Same as News no. 3 (Refer to Remark 1)		
5	A politician sought medical help and overcame depression. This news story increased the sense of efficacy to tackle depression. Ming Pao Daily, 8th March 2016	Efficacy	"*Take the initiative to seek medical treatment. Get along with the disorder. Cheung (*the politician's surname) *gets out of the dark haze of depression.*"	• Politician (Public figure)

6	A teacher, surname Lam, compared her happy childhood with today's demanding school life. She blamed the chock-full schedule of full-day schooling and excoriated government officials for pushing students and teachers over the edge. Her nostalgia for schooldays evoked the continuity motive. Being a student should be a happy experience, as she had during childhood. Her evocative memory of childhood playmates induced a sense of belonging. Apple Daily, 9th March 2016	Continuity	"*Looking back, my childhood was really happy. Today, schools are full-day, and the schedule is horribly packed. Busy all day.*"	• Students • Teachers • Government official • Parents • Friends
		Distinctiveness	"*High-ranking government officials, why don't you let the students have some rest?*"	
		Belonging	"*Together, we played tag or hide and seek.*"	
7	News featured the author of the book "If My Daughter Had Not Jumped". The author, as a father, recalled the days he had depression and felt hopeless since his daughter committed suicide. He continually identified himself as a failed father, who overlooked his daughter's struggle when she was alive.	Continuity	"*It's been seven years. Since the day she* (daughter) *committed suicide, Lee* (father) *has continually blamed himself for failing to understand his daughter's struggle.*"	• Father (Parents) • Daughter (Children)
		Meaning	"*When people experience extreme frustration and disappointment, all hope and thoughts are shattered. I lost my*	

	Ming Pao Daily, 13th March 2016		*marbles during the days I had depression.*"	
8	The series of student suicides raised public concern about academic stress. The Education Bureau called for strengthening the parent-child relationship, which could increase a sense of belonging. This news also revealed the different likelihood of accessing counselling services, which led to different challenges for young people. Ming Pao Daily, 13th March 2016	Distinctiveness	"*The percentage of young people having mental disorders is similar to that of adults. Nevertheless, they are far less likely to access counselling services compared to their adult counterparts*."	• Education Bureau (Government official) • Parents • Children • Young people • Adults
		Belonging	"*The Education Bureau calls for cherishing life and never giving up. Advise parents to spend more time with and care more for children.*"	
9	A journalist integrated some cohort studies to point out that students were under heavy academic pressure from the score-oriented education system and esteem-driven parental expectation. Ming Pao Daily, 14th March 2016	Self-esteem	"*Parents assume that children's future prosperity depends solely on academic excellence. Low achievers will have a bleak future.*"	• Parent • Children • Government official • Students
		Distinctiveness	Interview of an anonymous citizen: "*This crisis increases day by day. It doesn't make sense that the Secretary of Education proposes to have the survey six months later. I believe many people*	

			perceive the government doesn't value the precious lives of students."	
10	A YouTuber, MastaMic, composed a rap song as social support to young people after the plight of student suicides. The YouTuber pointed out students having doubts about the meaning of learning. Ming Pao Daily, 14th March 2016	Meaning	The lyrics: "*Yo, you don't understand why you feel pain but still need to take criticism. You don't understand why you feel pain but still need to keep on fighting.*"	• YouTuber (Public figure) • Young people
		Belonging	"*MastaMic composes rap song to heal young people.*"	
11	News interviewed a discharged depression patient, who recommended bringing meaning and providing support to family and friends. Ming Pao Daily, 18th March 2016	Meaning	"*Bring hope to people with mental disorders.*"	• Patient • Family • Friends
		Belonging	"*Pay attention to family and friends' behaviours, even if they are not yet mental disorder patients.*"	
12	A singer, surname Loo, who recovered from mood disorder discussed her experience and offered recommendations on how people should treat those with emotional issues. Oriental Daily, 19th March 2016	Belonging	"*They want to have listeners. Loo overcomes the lowest point of life. She encourages young people: You are not alone.*"	• Singer (Public figure) • Young people

13	Damage to appearance increased self-esteem threat. Oriental Daily, 1st April 2016	Self-esteem	"*Spot baldness impedes attractiveness. A young female is distraught over hair loss that leads to depression.*"	• Young woman
14	Children's perceived happiness has largely reduced from 73.8% in 2008 to 57.1% in 2016. Participation in group activities established friendship. Oriental Daily, 3rd April 2016	Belonging	"*An NGO recommends that children could be benefited from joining group activities.*"	• Children
15	A survey found that children in remarried families were more vulnerable to depression and anxious. A non-government organisation urged stepparents to care for stepchildren and create some collective memories to increase bonding. Ming Pao Daily, 16th May 2016	Belonging	"*A non-government organisation recommends that stepparents should show more care for stepchildren and create memories with them.*"	• Stepparents (Parents) • Stepchildren (Children)
16		Efficacy	"*Actively tackle depression, Ngan* (the actor's surname) *practices Tai Chi with*	• Actor (Public figure)

	News reported an actor's action to tackle depression. He also urged people to seek medical help. Ming Pao Daily, 1st June 2016		*friends. He urges people to see a doctor if they have mental disorders.*"	• Friends
		Belonging	"*Ngan* (the actor's surname) *practices Tai Chi with friends.*"	
17	A man had large part of his skull removed at a public hospital after a traffic accident. He urgently needed operation to restore his skull. However, he has lived with a collapsed skull for almost a year without getting an appointment. Because of the plight of his predicament, he had suicidal thoughts and needed to take antidepressants. In contrast, two pro-government politicians with mild medical conditions received treatment promptly at public hospitals. (Refer to Remark 2) Apple Daily, 11th June 2016	Continuity	"*... we have different fates. Ordinary citizens await surgery for a year.*"	• Human
		Distinctiveness	"*Although we are all human beings, we have different fates.*"	
		Meaning	"*Is it fair?*"	

18	Same incident as News no. 17 (Refer to Remark 2) Apple Daily, 11th June 2016	Self-esteem	"*Appearance deters job seeking, which causes depression.*"	• Ordinary citizen • Politician (Public figure)
		Distinctiveness	"*Ordinary citizens await surgery for a year.*" "*It is pro-government politicians' prerogative to have special arrangement in public hospitals.*"	
19	Same incident as News no. 17 (Refer to Remark 2) Apple Daily, 11th June 2016	Distinctiveness	"*Sooner or later, there will be only two types of people in Hong Kong. The privileged have priority in public hospitals. The rich can afford to go to private hospitals. What about the underprivileged? They are not human.*"	• Privileged • Rich • Underprivileged
20	Same incident as News no. 17 (Refer to Remark 2) Apple Daily, 12th June 2016	Continuity	"*Ordinary people with no power have to wait forever.*"	• Privileged • Underprivileged • Politician (Public figure) • Ordinary citizen
		Distinctiveness	"*Wu* (the man's surname) *complained: 'Ordinary people with no power have to wait forever. The privileged can jump the queue'.*"	

			"*Front-page news: The man with a collapsed skull. Pro-government politicians can jump queue. Ordinary people have to wait forever.*"	
21	News promoted hiking with friends during weekends to take a break from the stressful city life. Apple Daily, 9th October 2016	Efficacy Belonging	"*Kick negative emotions away.*" "*You are stressed, so am I. Let's go hiking with friends to de-stress.*"	• Friends
22	60% of young people reported feeling pessimistic about their prospects in Hong Kong. However, a property tycoon, as the Vice Chairman of the Youth Development Committee, appeared to take no concrete action to address the pessimistic sentiments and promote a better future for young people. Apple Daily, 10th October 2016	Distinctiveness	"*The rich cannot understand the pressure which the ordinary people experience every day.*" "*60% of young people reported feeling pessimistic about their prospects in Hong Kong. Lau* (the Vice Chairman's surname) *said he didn't know.*"	• Young people • The rich
23	A non-government organisation found 12% of Hong Kong people developed depression.	Efficacy	"*Living in Hong Kong is stressful. It is pretty normal to have either big or small emotional issues. What most important is*	• General public

	News story mentioned living in Hong Kong was stressful and urged people to face their emotional issues. The story suggested people might visit some social services to understand their condition. Apple Daily, 15th October 2016		*to face it. 12% of Hong Kong people have depression. A non-government organisation sets up booths on the streets to offer free assessments.*"	
24	More than one billion of people worldwide were diagnosed with depression. In the foreseeable future, depression will become one of the major health issues across the globe. News encouraged people to care for one another. Ming Pao Daily, 21st October 2016	Belonging	"*Caring for oneself, caring for others.*"	• People worldwide
25	News reported perfectionism, as a personal consistent quality, was vulnerable to depression. Oriental Daily, 1st November 2016	Continuity	"*Perfectionists, who require everything to be perfect, develop depression more easily. When they cannot achieve the expected goal, they fill with dismay and self-blame.*"	• General public

26	The number of people diagnosed with depression has risen for four consecutive years. Hospitals provided counselling services at general out-patient clinic to increase accessibility of such services. Apple Daily, 2nd November 2016	Efficacy	"*Remember to seek treatment as soon as possible. Hospitals in New Territories East now provide counselling services at general out-patient clinic.*"	• General public
27	News reported that heavy stress provoked depression. However, labelling discouraged people from seeking medical help. Some hospitals started to transfer mental health patients with mild conditions to general out-patient clinics. This new arrangement might reduce negative labelling of mental illnesses. Oriental Daily, 2nd November 2016	Continuity	"*The negative labelling of mental illnesses discourages patients from seeking medical treatment. Hospitals in New Territories East transfer patients with mild conditions to general out-patient clinic.*"	• Patients
28	An elderly man, without family, has not gone out from the elderly home for three years. Every day, he waited to be taken care of. He became depressed because of losing autonomy and meaning in life.	Efficacy	"*He feels trapped in the elderly home. Every day, he just waits for mealtime, TV time and sleep time. He feels hopeless and helpless. He becomes depressed because of losing autonomy.*"	• Elderly

	Oriental Daily, 3rd November 2016	Meaning	"*He feels trapped in the elderly home. He feels hopeless and helpless.*"	
		Belonging	"*He, has not gone out for three years, must be eager to have someone to visit and care for him.*" "*He has no family, relatives, or friends. Although he sees his landlord as his friend, the landlord doesn't feel like that. Therefore, he feels abandoned.*"	
29	A girl developed depression on account of her family's extreme expectation on academic results. News narrative challenged the meaning of academic excellence when it harmed children's mental health. Apple Daily, 20th November 2016	Self-esteem	"*Even though achieving a better academic result.*"	• Parents • Children
		Meaning	"*The ramifications of the draconian parental style. Is it worth sacrificing children's mental health for academic results?*"	
30	An experienced counselling volunteer gave an account that Hong Kong people recognised they were under heavy stress but were reluctant	Self-esteem	"*Hong Kong people are under heavy stress. They always encounter emotional problems but refuse to disclose their problems to save face.*"	• A counselling volunteer • General public

	to disclose their condition to protect their self-esteem. Apple Daily, 23rd November 2016			
31	City dwellers were under heavy stress. News demanded people pay attention to some depression symptoms and urged people to seek medical help when needed. Apple Daily, 28th November 2016	Efficacy	"*As city dwellers, you are stressed. So am I. If you have unresolved depression issues, do not suppress them. It is important to seek see a doctor. To maintain good mental health, pay attention to these six signs of mood disorders.*"	• City dwellers (Working adults)
32	News describes Castle Peak Hospital, a renowned psychiatric hospital in Hong Kong, as "a health care treatment centre for people with mental disorders". The news narrative highlighted patient's effort to tackle depression. Patients could progressively recover from mental disorders and regain mental health with medical staff's support.	Efficacy	"*A recovered patient of Castle Peak Hospital used sand painting to wipe out depression. S/he motivates people to seek help.*"	• Recovered patient • Medical staff
		Continuity	"*Having illnesses; receiving treatment; and recovery.*"	
		Belonging	"*Medical workers walk with patients.*"	

	Ming Pao Daily, 4th December 2016			
33	News quoted a research finding that 12.6% of pilots display depressive symptoms. However, their work prospects might be threatened if they disclosed their emotional issues. The news story promoted an accepting attitude towards depression. Oriental Daily, 15th December 2016	Efficacy	"*They refuse to admit it* (having depressive symptoms) *to avoid losing work prospects.*"	• Pilots (Working adults) • General public
		Belonging	"*We need to adopt an accepting attitude to let the pilots get rid of the dread.*"	

Remark 1: News posts no. 3 and no. 4 used similar narrative about the psychiatrist's warning. The present study identified the same identity motives from both of the news posts.

Remark 2: News posts no. 17 to no. 20 reported the same incident about the man with a collapsed skull. Although some wordings were different, the general message in the four news posts was that the man and the two pro-government politicians should have the same right to receive treatment in the health care system because they were all Hong Kong citizens. However, the two politicians appeared to have certain privileges.

5.5 Conclusion of Study 2

To conclude this chapter, the present study incorporated the six identity motives in motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into Giles and Shaw's (2009) Media Framing Analysis to examine how news media appealed to those motives in framing depression news. The findings of the present study showed that the six identity motives were identified in the news stories. *Losing face*, a cultural variation of self-esteem threat, stopped people from disclosing emotional problems. News reported successful recovery stories to enhance efficacy, which motivated people to tackle depression. News stories appealed to continuity motive by mentioning some stable and continuous personal attributes that made people more vulnerable to depression. However, the identity of having depression could be a progressive change to a more positive one, a recovered patient. The present study found that the social position of distinctiveness highlighted the gap between ordinary people and the privileged to convey a strong feeling of social inequality. The motive for meaning was appealed in the form of feelings of hopeless and meaningless, and these feelings were associated with depression. News stories lamented that learning merely for high marks has lost its meaning. Moreover, the belonging motive was also identified in the news stories whereby new media largely prompted the sense of belonging to encourage social support in helping people with depression. After examination of identity motives and news framing, Facebook users' responses were investigated accordingly to understand identity motive enactment. In next chapter, deductive confirmatory content analysis examining Facebook commenting activities as a form of identity enactment was reported.

CHAPTER 6

Study 3: Identity Enactment through Facebook Commenting

6.1 Background

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine the motivational influence of Facebook identity construction on the cognitive and behavioural dimensions. As reported in Chapter 4, Study 1 focused on examining identity motives on Facebook Profiles, on which the interface allows users to present their identities by posting on their own Facebook Walls and changing their Profile Pictures (Manzi et al., 2018). Study 1 allowed to test the proposed model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, in the context of Facebook Profiles, thus illustrating the direct and indirect pathways through which identity motives influence Facebook users' activities on their Facebook Profiles. Facebook, however, comprises multifunctional interfaces, and the ways presenting one's identity on Facebook are also varied. This research project argued that Facebook Profiles should not be considered as the only place on Facebook that allows users to construct and present their identities. Yet, the existing literature has largely focused on Facebook Profiles but overlooked the possibility that activities on other Facebook interfaces could also affect users' motives to construct and present their identity. In addition, how content providers' Facebook posts appeal to identity motives and how that might influence Facebook users' responses have mostly been neglected. In such sense, Study 2 and Study 3 aimed to fill the gap by investigating how motivational influences of identity construction affected the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of identity processes on another Facebook interface, Facebook News Feed. In Study 2, as shown in Chapter 5, the news framing analysis

identified the six identity motives being appealed to in news narrative. By examining how news media framed news stories on Facebook that appealed to identity motives, Study 2 helped answer the research question concerning the cognitive dimension of the motivational identity construction. The findings of Study 2 informed the present study, Study 3, by indicating which identity motives were appealed to in the news via framing. Accordingly, the present study explored how Facebook users responded to the news framing for satisfying their identity motives, whereby addressed the behavioural dimension of the motivational identity construction.

Previous research has demonstrated that the function of commenting is one of the reasons that drive people to read news on Facebook (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). Through commenting on news posts, users express their opinion and communicate with other users (Graham, 2013). The behavioural dimension of identity enactment is defined as the effort people make to present each of their identity elements to others in everyday life (Vignoles et al., 2006). Selim, Long, and Vignoles (2014), in their study on the presence of identity motives in tweets on Twitter, conceptualised communication on social media as a symbolic interaction between senders and receivers. Senders have certain presumptions of how receivers make sense of the underlying meaning in the messages they post on social media. One of the reasons which senders create contents on social media is to satisfy their identity motives (Selim et al., 2014). In such sense, the present study proposes that commenting on news posts on social media could be a way of identity enactment. Nevertheless, in the existing literature, the subject concerning how Facebook user enacted identity element while responding to news stories has not been answered. This thesis now moves on to examine Facebook users' identity enactment corresponding to the news framing found in the previous chapter.

6.2 Methodology

The present study incorporated the six identity motives proposed in Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory into the analytic framework of deductive confirmatory content analysis for examining Facebook comments (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). A deductive confirmatory content analysis is used when the analytical framework is operationalised on the basis of an earlier developed theory (Burns & Grove, 2005, as cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). As the present analytical framework is built upon Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory, a deductive approach is considered as useful. The deductive procedure involved three major steps: data collection, developing analysis matrixes, and data coding (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). The analytical procedure of the present analysis was guided by research question which aimed to explore how Facebook users responded to news framing for satisfying the identity motives. The procedure was described below.

6.2.1 Data collection

The first step of the present analysis was collecting Facebook comments as data, to which Facebook users responded to the 33 news posts (the news stories, the comments analysed in this chapter referred to, were reported in Study 2, shown in Chapter 5. The news stories with quotes are listed in Table 6.) On Facebook, users could both respond directly to the news post and respond to other users' comments. On the authentic Facebook environment, the extent a Facebook comment has impact on other users is difficult to evaluate. However, a Facebook comment receives reply indicates that the comment has attracted other users' attention. This suggests that the Facebook comment has made influence on other users to some extent (Almoqbel et al., 2019). In such sense, this study

collected the Facebook comments and reply comments to understand identity enactment through Facebook interaction.

One point needed to be clarified. As those comments and replied comments are also called comments, for clarity, the present study named *Main User* to indicate the user who responded directly to the news posts and named *Reply User* to indicate other users who replied to the Main Users. An example of *Main User* and *Reply User* is illustrated in Figure 10. The Facebook comments, including from both Main Users and Reply User, were captured by NCapture, an add-on function of NVivo.

Figure 10. Illustration of comments from Main User and Reply User

6.2.2 Developing analysis matrix: Strategies for satisfying identity motives

The construct of identity enactment is similar to self-presentation. People enact identity elements to display the aspects of their identities for satisfying identity motives through everyday activities (Vignoles, et al., 2006). On the Facebook environment, Facebook commenting could be a behavioural process of identity enactment for constructing identity. In this analytical step, for each of the six identity motives, an analysis matrix was developed for categorising and coding how Facebook users responded to the news posts in order to satisfy identity motives. While developing the analysis matrixes, the descriptions, explanations, and definitions of the six motives were reviewed. The behavioural aspects and strategies of satisfying identity motives were the focus (Becker et al., 2012; Selim et al., 2014; W. E. Thomas et al., 2017; Vignoles, 2011; Vignoles et al., 2000, 2002b, 2006). The six analysis matrixes, as shown in the following paragraphs, illustrated the strategies of identity enactment with examples of Facebook users' comments.

6.2.2.1 Self-esteem.

The self-esteem motive is a need to maintain and increase a positive self-concept. Previous cross-cultural studies have found that, in both collectivist and individualist cultures, one of the identity enactment strategies of satisfying self-esteem is to show off one's achievement (Selim et al., 2014). However, the present study conducted in the bicultural context, Hong Kong, found some interesting findings that Facebook users boasted their achievement with a strategy known as humblebragging. According to Sezer, Gino, and Norton (2018), humblebragging is a self-presentation strategy, which frames one's positive attributes and competences in the forms of complaint or humility. People

have a motivation to be liked by others and apply this self-presentation strategy to avoid being perceived as arrogant when boosting self-esteem (Sezer et al., 2018). Sezer, Gino, and Norton (2018) illustrated two strategies of humblebragging: complaint and humility. Complaint humblebragging is the combination of bragging and complaint. Here is an example of complaint humblebragging in their paper: "I am so tired of being the only person that my boss could trust to train the new employees" (p.52). Another strategy is humility humblebragging, which is bragging while downplaying one's self-enhancement. Sezer, Gino, and Norton (2018) illustrated this strategy with an example: "I can't believe they all thought of me to nominate for this award" (Sezer et al., 2018, p. 52).

The present study identified the two strategies, complaint humblebragging and humility humblebragging, in Facebook comments. The following showed the quotes from Facebook comments as examples. More explanation of this self-presentation strategy follows in the Findings and Discussion section.

Strategies of identity enactment	Facebook comments as examples
• Show off achievement	• Complaint humblebragging: This user complained his/her son didn't enjoy studying; meanwhile, bragged that the child could get into a prestigious school: ○ "*My 12-year-old son ... doesn't particularly enjoy studying. It's such a pain when the child doesn't like going to school. However, when being able to get into a prestigious school, no one would give up this opportunity*." • Humility humblebragging: This user initially disclosed some setback. Then, with his/her

	good guidance, the child moved up to the elite class again: o "*The teacher told us my girl would need to move down to the poor performer class in Secondary 2 … she is moving up to the elite class in Secondary 3. Children need support and good guidance*"

6.2.2.2 Efficacy.

The efficacy motive emphasises one's ability to act on the environment. Identity enactment of efficacy often involves taking action influencing others and the surroundings, such as calling for action (Selim et al., 2014). The present study found that Facebook users satisfied their efficacy motive through telling others that they were capable to act on their mental health issues, and through calling for action to influence others. Examples are shown below, and conversations between Facebook users will be discussed in next section.

Strategies of identity enactment	Facebook comments as examples
• Show capability	• This user told another user that s/he was competent by sharing the action his/her took to overcome depression: o "*I had depression … I learned to baked cakes on my own. I baked cakes when I suffered from insomnia. I felt a sense of accomplishment when I made a beautiful cake*."
• Call for action	• Facebook users urged others to take action:

	○ "*We work together to change this culture!*" ○ "*Discover personal strengths and interests … Or participating in volunteer work to meet people from different walks of life*"

6.2.2.3 Continuity.

The continuity motive is the drive to connect one's past, present, and future self (Vignoles et al., 2006). Vignoles and colleagues (2006) found that the identity enactment of continuity is related more to cognitive outcomes. For example, Selim, Long and Vignoles (2014) found that social media users satisfied this motive through reminiscence. In their study, social media users displayed nostalgic thoughts and recalled past events that linked the memories with their present situation. Similarly, the present study found that Facebook users engaged in nostalgic conversation to discuss past events that lingered in their memories over a long period.

Strategies of identity enactment	Facebook comments as examples
• Show connection between past, present, and future self	• Facebook users discussed their past events that always emerged in dreams: ○ "*…those horrible situations often appear in dreams and become part of one's life, for the whole life*."
• Exhibit a feeling of nostalgia	• The good old days: ○ "*I remember, in my secondary years, the Math teacher played football with us during lunch*."

6.2.2.4 Distinctiveness.

Distinctiveness is a motivation of being different from others. Becker and colleagues (2012) proposed that people achieve their distinctiveness motive through three constructs: difference, separateness and social position. People emphasise their various qualities to satisfy their need of difference, such as abilities, opinions, personality, and appearance. Separateness refers to the boundedness which people set physical or symbolic distance to separate themselves from others. Social position is related to one's position in a social relationship. People distinguish their positions in the relationships, including kinship ties, friendships roles, and social status (Becker et al., 2012). The present study found the presence of difference, separateness and social position in Facebook users' comments. For instance, some parents highlighted that they were different from other parents whereby they adopted different parenting styles. Another Facebook user remarked on the physical distance between Hong Kong and Mainland China to enact his/her identity as a Hongkonger. Also, a number of Facebook users described their social position as ordinary people, in contrast to the privileged.

Strategies of identity enactment	Facebook comments as examples
• Point out differences: Distinctiveness in qualities	• A parent emphasised s/eh had a different parenting style from other parents: ○ "*I am not the kind of parent who demands children excel in all subjects*"
• Display separateness: Physical or symbolic boundary	• A Facebook user mentioned the physical distance between Hong Kong and Mainland China, to distinguish the separated identities of Hongkongers and Mainlanders:

	○ "*I have to say that we are physically in Hong Kong*"
• Indicate different social positions: Social status	• Facebook users largely identified themselves with ordinary people, who had no special treatment in the health care system, unlike the privileged: ○ "*As we are not high-ranking government officials,* (we) *have to wait*."

6.2.2.5 Meaning.

The meaning motive drives people to see themselves in a meaningful part of a meaningful world. When enacting the identity elements to satisfy meaning motive, people have an impetus to search for meanings in their existence (Baumeister, 1991, as cited in Vignoles, 2011), and pursue the purpose and value of activities they participate in (Vignoles et al., 2006). For instance, Facebook users recommended searching for meaning to overcome emotional issues.

Strategies of identity enactment	Facebook comments as examples
• Find one's value in existence	• A user recommended another user finding value in his/her existence: ○ "*Life is tough if we can't find value in ourselves. With God's guidance, we can find our spiritual existence*."
• Bring hope	• A Facebook user encouraged another user by bringing hope: ○ "*It* (Life) *is not easy*, (but) *hope is around the corner*."

6.2.2.6 Belonging.

Vignoles (2011) considers belonging to be a strong motive, as human beings are social species and have a survival need to be socially accepted. The belonging motive drives people to seek social acceptance to establish closeness and relatedness in relationships. Social media are online platforms full of connections to fulfil people's belonging motive. On Facebook, the @ symbol is a function to tag other Facebook accounts to create a connection with those being tagged (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015; Selim et al., 2014). The present study found Facebook users used the tagging function to seek social support, which satisfied the belonging motive.

Strategies of identity enactment	Facebook comments as examples
• Seek social support	• A user responded to the news regarding depression symptoms and tagged another user to seek social support: ○ "[Tag Friend A] *is that me* (having depression*)? Help me quickly*"

• Connect with friends	• Facebook users tagged friends to do some group activities as advised in a news story:
	  ○ A user tagged two other users: "[Friend A and Friend B] *I really want to go hiking*."
	  ▪ Friend B replied: "*Let me tag* [Friend C] *to join us.*"

6.2.3 Data coding according to the categories

After the analysis matrixes were developed, Facebook comments of the 33 news stories were reviewed for content and coded for correspondence with the identity motives. Facebook comments of each news story were coded according to the identity motives which were found being appealed to in Study 2. (The summary of news stories is shown in Table 6) The comments were reviewed for the aspects from the contents that fitted the analysis matrixes. Taking News no. 6 as an example, Study 2 found that this news story appealed to continuity motive by featuring a teacher who recollected her happy childhood. The teacher recalled: "*Looking back, my childhood was really happy*.". Facebook comments of this news were reviewed and coded on the basis of the analysis matrixes developed in the previous step. In this case, the analysis meant looking for responses related to memories, nostalgia, or recollection of the past. The present study, Study 3, found that Facebook users seemed to pick up the sense of continuity in the news narrative and recalled memories of their own childhood. As shown in Extract 9, Main User 9 recalled: "*When I was young, I woke up at 11, and just watched cartoons after school*". Also, in Extract 10, Main User 10 remembered: "*I remember, in my secondary years, the Math teacher played football with us during lunch.*". Nostalgia is a sentimental longing for one's memorable past. Remembering the past infuses people with nostalgia, which makes people feel connected with their past self that fosters a sense of self-continuity (Reid et al., 2015; Sedikides et al., 2015, 2016). The above example illustrated that News no. 6 appealed to continuity motive by instigating the recollection of the past, and Facebook users exchanged their enjoyable childhood memories thus satisfying the continuity motive.

When a news story was found appealing to more than one identity motive, Facebook comments were coded according to each identity motive. Taking News no. 17 as an

example, the news reported that an ordinary citizen who needed medical treatment urgently was put in a long queue in the health care system, whereas two pro-government politicians with mild medical conditions jumped the queue and received medical attention promptly. This news story was found appealing to continuity, distinctiveness, and meaning motives (this news was discussed in Study 2 and shown in Table 6). Facebook comments of this news were reviewed and coded for the responses related to the three identity motives accordingly. The present study found that Facebook users largely identified themselves as ordinary people. Identifying as an ordinary citizen might satisfy continuity motive as that is a lasting identity involving one's family of origin and upbringing. Yet, when Facebook users expressed the idea that they were ordinary people, they focused on the different treatments between ordinary people and pro-government politicians. They criticised those pro-government politicians for having privilege in the health care system, which was unfair to ordinary people. Given that, in this instance, the identification of ordinary people was interpreted as satisfying distinctiveness motive, instead of continuity motive, because the Facebook comments emphasised the different social positions between ordinary people and privileged politicians (see Findings and Discussion for an account of the analysis outcomes).

The above examples illustrated how Facebook comments were coded and recorded for investigating the strategies Facebook users used to satisfy identity motives. When more than one identity motive wase appealed to in the news stories, the context of the news stories and the interactions between Main Users and Reply Users were considered for obtaining a sense of the whole story (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). The findings of the present study were reported and discussed below.

6.3 Findings and Discussion

The present study examined Facebook commenting activities as a form of identity enactment. As shown in Table 7, this study found that Facebook users generally picked up the identity motives, which were appealed to in the news narrative, and responded in ways that could satisfy the corresponding motives. Most of the time, the perspectives of Reply Users were in line with that of the Main Users to provide further information, express opinion, or disclose personal experience to echo the Main Users' comments. These observations indicated that news framing appealing to identity motives influenced Facebook users' identity enactment to a certain extent. Table 7, which shows Facebook users' responses to the corresponding news stories, and the present findings and discussion are shown below.

Table 7. A summary shows Facebook users responding to news stories to satisfy the corresponding identity motives being appealed to in the news stories

Identity Motives	Major characteristics of the identity motives	Examples and quotes from news stories	Facebook comments as examples
Self-esteem	Achievement	Parents demanded academic excellence from children: • "*Parents assume that children's future prosperity depends solely on academic excellence. Even though achieving a better academic result, is it worth sacrificing children's mental health for academic results?*"	Facebook users employed humblebragging strategies to show off achievements. Extract 1 • Complaint humblebragging: Main User 1 complained his/her son enjoy playing video games; meanwhile, bragged that the child could get into a prestigious school: o Main User 1: "*My 12-year-old son likes playing video games but doesn't particularly enjoy studying. It's such a pain when the child doesn't like going to school. I don't put much pressure on him. However, when being able to get into a prestigious school, no one would give up this opportunity. Can't lose even one mark.*"

Extract 2

- Complaint humblebragging: The two users complained the poor qualities of teachers and schools, meanwhile they brought forward their academic improvement, Reply User 2 further showed off s/he was a gifted student:
    - Main User 2: "*...The workload was tough, and the attitude of teacher was harsh. That school was not good. My situation improved when I got into a better secondary school. Those teachers encouraged me*."
    - Reply User 2: "*My performance was not good at primary school ... The quality of those teachers was poor. However, when I went to secondary school, an assessment revealed I was gifted but affected by dyslexia. I later made a rapid progress with help from experts*."

Extract 3

			• Humility humblebragging: Main User 3 initially disclosed that his/her child had poor performance at school. However, with his/her good guidance, the child moved up to the elite class again: o Main User 3: "*the attitude of parents is very important! … the told us that my girl would need to move down to the poor performer class in Secondary 2. … Now, she has managed to move up to the elite class in Secondary 3. Children need support and good guidance*."
Efficacy	Building up strengths to overcome mental health issues	News urged parents to take children to doctor if children displayed some depressive symptoms. • "*Parents should take children to doctor without delay.*"	Extract 4 • Main User 4 disclosed having depressive symptoms, and Reply User 4 encouraged him/her to find the strength and ability to overcome difficulties: o Main User 4: "*I have these* (depressive symptoms) *almost every day. I don't want to tell my family, or it will show I am incompetent.*"

			○ Reply User 4: "*When you enjoy doing* something, *you will make an effort to do it. You can strengthen your ability, every time when you overcome an obstacle*."
	• Building up strengths to overcome mental health issues Taking control over one's environment	The demanding learning culture that pushed too much pressure on students that affected their mental health. News encouraged parents to take children to doctor if children displayed some depressive symptoms. • "*Parents should take children to doctor without delay.*"	Extract 5 • Main User 5 encouraged other users to find strengths and go for a change to the result-oriented learning culture: ○ Main User 5: "*Discover personal strengths and interests… We work together to change this culture! Failure is no big deal. We should have confidence in young people.*"
	Showing self-reliance and accomplishment	News reported a series of student suicidal cases and urged parents to take children to doctor if children displayed some depressive symptoms. • "*A boy was allegedly under academic pressure and committed suicide. Students come under pressure from multiple sources.*	Extract 6 • Reply User 7 shared his/her method to recover from depression that displayed self-reliance and accomplishment: ○ Reply User 7: "*… engage in some hobby to take your mind off things… I learned to bake cakes on my own. I baked cakes when I suffered from insomnia. I felt a sense of*

		Parents should take children to doctor without delay."	*accomplishment when I made a beautiful cake.*" ○
	Acting on an advice from the news story	News listed out symptoms of depression and told readers to see a doctor if they had depression issues. • "*If you have unresolved depression issues, do not suppress it. It is important to see a doctor. To maintain good mental health, pay attention to these six signs of mood disorders.*"	Extract 7 • Reply User 8 echoed the news narrative and recommended Main User 7 to seek medical help: ○ Reply User 8: "*take care, see a doctor as soon as possible.*" ○
Continuity	Connecting past, present, and future self	News reported that a girl whose parents put extreme academic pressure on her in the past. She eventually developed depression after growing up. • "*A girl wanted to run away from home as young as eight years old. She eventually developed depression after growing up*."	Extract 8 • Facebook users discussed their opinions on the reasons about past events reappeared in dreams from time to time: ○ Main User 8: "*…those horrible situations often appear in dreams and become part of one's life, for the whole life. It's because frustration in childhood has a very*

		profound effect. Once engraved, it can never be erased. It's similar to the theory of arayashiki consciousness in Buddhism, which means storage." ○ Reply User 9: "*Yes, parenting in childhood affects a person's emotions and personality development. The influence is even lifelong.*" ○ Reply User 10: "…*I still dream of the time when I studied or took AL or ACCA* (public examinations) *from time to time*."
Nostalgia	News prompted a wave of nostalgia for the happy half-day schooling: • "*When we were young, we attended morning school. At the afternoon, after finishing homework, together, we played tag or hide and seek. Looking back, my childhood was really happy.*"	Facebook users shared their good old day. Extract 9 • Main User 9 recalled his/her relaxing school life: ○ Main User 9: "*When I was young, I woke up at 11, and just watched cartoons after school*." Extract 10 • Main User 10 recollected his/her happy school life:

			○ Main User 10: "*I remember, in my secondary years, the Math teacher played football with us during lunch*."
Distinctiveness	Difference: different parenting style	News urged parents not to blame their children if they did not receive a favourable result on the school admission day. • "*Expert recommends how parents should cope* (with disappointing results)*: don't blame children*."	Extract 11 • Facebook users emphasised they had a different parenting style from other demanding parents: ○ Main User 11: ". *I am not the kind of parent who demands children excel in all subjects*." ○ Reply User 13: "*How others pursue* (good result) *is their own business. It's important to find a school that matches the progress of the child*." ○ Reply User 14: "*I am a disobedient parent*."
	Separateness: symbolic boundary or physical distance from others	News aroused the stereotypes about an outstanding father and a vulnerable teenage son that appealed to symbolic boundary between the middle-aged and youth.	Extract 12 • Main User 12 emphasised the physical distance between Hong Kong and Mainland China, attempting to distinguish the separated identities between Hongkongers and Mainlanders. Meanwhile, Reply User 15 responded to the

		• "*Father graduated in MBA from Stanford University and opened a multinational corporation. Son suffered from academic pressure and plunged to death from their luxury home*."	symbolic boundary between the old and young generations. ○ Main User 12: "*… sorry, I have to say that we are physically in Hong Kong*." ○ Reply User 15: "*Those old snobs …in our generation, we did not have as many student suicidal cases as in your generation*."
	Social position: social status	News appealed to the contrasting social status between ordinary people and the privileged. • "*Ordinary people with no power have to wait forever. The privileged can jump the queue*." • "*Although we are all human, we have different fates*."	Facebook largely picked up the social inequality which was appealed to in the news narrative. Extract 13 • Main User 13 and Reply User 16 disapproved the different treatments between an ordinary man and two pro-government politicians by reciting a well-known ancient Chinese poem which depicted social inequality. ○ Main User 13: "*Meat and wine go to waste inside mansions with vermilion doors. The poor die from freezing cold along the street*."

- Reply User 16 echoed: "*those who kill and arson are given gold medal 'politicians abuse of power', whereas those who sacrifice for others are forgotten 'no one remembers how ordinary people sacrificed for the society'*."

Extract 14

- Main User 13 and Reply User 16 left sarcastic comment to criticise the different treatments between an ordinary man and two pro-government politicians.
  - Main User 14: "*As we are not high-ranking government officials,* (we) *have to wait*."

Extract 15

- Main User 15 and Reply User 18 also left sarcastic comment to criticise the different treatments between an ordinary man and two pro-government politicians.

			○ Main User 15 repeated the news narrative: "*Although we are all human, we have different fates. He should blame himself for not teaming up with Tam and Chan* (surnames of the two pro-government politicians)*. If he had done so, everything would have been sorted out*." ○ Reply User 18 echoed: "*It's not too late* (to join them)*, but not sure if they welcome more lackeys as their existing benefits will be attenuated* (by newcomers)." ○
Meaning	Search for meaning in life: Hope, purpose and, value of existence	News urges people to pay attention to depressive symptoms, including hopelessness • "*Warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*."	Extract 16 • Main User 16 shared his/her opinion that loss of meaning in life might infused people with suicide ideation. ○ Main User 16: "*The reason people want to end their lives is because they don't want to live in a life in which they can't find meaning. For them, death is an escape*."

Extract 17

- When Main User 17 disclosed s/he had the depressive symptoms listed in the news, Reply User 20 brought hope to him/her:
    - Reply User 20: "*It* (Life) *is not easy*, (but) *hope is around the corner*."

Extract 18

- Main User 17 questioned the purpose of learning when the overwhelming education system has pushed students over the edge. Reply User 21 recommended people could find value of their existence if they had religion belief.
    - Main User 18: "*When going to school is not for learning knowledge or the principles of life but for examination skills and high marks, tell me what's the meaning of learning*."
    - Reply User 21: "*Life is tough if we can't find value in ourselves. With God's*

			guidance, we can find our spiritual existence."

Belonging	Seeking social support by creating social connection on Facebook	News listed out some depressive symptoms, such feeling lack of social support, and urged people to seek medical help.
		• "*Warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*"
			Facebook uses appeared to echo the news narrative and sought social support from friends by using the tag function which could create a direct social link between users.
			
			Extract 19
			• Main User 19 tagged Reply User 22 and the two Facebook users exchanged that they had the depressive symptoms listed out in the news story.
			  ○ Main User 19: "[Tag Friend A] *is that me* (having depression*)? Help me quickly*."
			  ○ Reply User 22: [Friend A replied] *I have those symptoms*."
			
			Extract 20
			• Main User 20 tagged Reply User 23 and disclosed having the depressive symptoms mentioned in the news story. After being tagged,

Reply User 23 replied and showed his/her care for the main user.

- Main User 20: ““[Tag Friend A] *‘Feeling depressed for two consecutive weeks and losing interest in enjoyable activities’, am I having depression?*”
- Reply User 23: [Friend A replied] *Oh, I truly worry about you*.”

Extract 21

- Main User 21 tagged two Facebook friends and exposed having suicide ideation. His/her friends replied and offered support to the main user. For example, Reply User 25 encouraged Main User 21 and asked him/her to be optimistic.
  - Main User 21: “[Tag Friend A and Friend B] *I will be the next* (to commit suicide).”
  - Reply User 24: “[Friend B replied] *Don’t be silly. Don’t put too much stress on yourself. Things will improve*.”

			Reply User 25: "[Friend A replied] *Relax. There are many other important things* (other than studying). *You can retake the examination if you fail. No worries. By the way, I have those symptoms too, but I still live happily. Be optimistic.*"
	Arranging group activities to enhance closeness and relatedness	News promoted group activities to appeal to belonging motive, for example hiking with friends. • "*You are stressed, so am I. Let's go hiking with friends to de-stress. Kick negative emotions away*"	Facebook users tagged friends to uniting them for hiking. Extract 22 • Main User 22 echoed the news narrative: "Kick negative emotions away". His/her friend asked for another hiking trip enthusiastically. o Main User 22: "*Today, we kicked all the negative emotions away* [Tag Friend A and Friend B]" o Reply User 26: "[Friend A replied] *When we have time, let's go again and take some more photos.*" Extract 23

- Main User 23 tagged Reply User 27 for going hiking. Reply User 27 felt excited about the idea.
  - Reply User 27: "*Now is the best season for hiking. Rainfall is low in this season.*"

Extract 24

- Main User 24 tagged two Facebook friends and seemed very eager to go hiking. Reply User 28 appeared to be thrilled by the idea so that s/he tagged one more friend to join the conversation.
  - Main User 24: "[Tag Friend A and Friend B] *I really want to go hiking.*"
  - Reply User 28: "[Friend B replied] *Let me tag* [Friend C] *to join us.*"

6.3.1 Self-esteem

One of the identity enactment strategies for satisfying the self-esteem motive is to show off one's achievement (Selim et al., 2014). In the present study, Facebook users were found predominantly showing off their children's academic achievement to satisfy their self-esteem, but with an interesting strategy, humblebragging.

Humblebragging is a self-presentation strategy by which people boost their self-esteem while avoiding being perceived as arrogant. Humblebragging involves two strategies: complaint humblebragging and humility humblebragging (Sezer et al., 2018). (The definitions of humblebragging and its two strategies, complaint humblebragging and humility humblebragging, were illustrated in the methodology section above.) Prior research has demonstrated that using these two strategies alone, complaint (Kowalski & Erickson, 1997) and being humble (Baumeister & Jones, 1978; Schlenker & Leary, 1982), could make people better liked by others. In contrast, when complaint and humility were combined with bragging, Sezer, Gino, and Norton (2018) found that the two humblebragging strategies generally made people less well-liked. They also found that participants viewed others who employed complaint humblebragging less favourably than those who used humility humblebragging. In the present study, both complaint humblebragging and humility humblebragging were identified in Facebook comments. Facebook users' responses to others' humblebragging strategies appeared to be mixed. Some users could make a favourable impression with humblebragging strategies whereas other received backlash.

The present study found complaint humblebragging in Facebook users' responses to News no. 29. This news story appealed to self-esteem motive by mentioning academic excellence; meanwhile, accused that parental expectation of academic excellence

jeopardised children's mental health. As found in Study 2, the news story alluded to the disapproval of demanding parental style, by which parents put emphasis on academic performance for deriving their self-esteem from their children's academic achievement. In the present study, the findings of Facebook comments indicated that Facebook users were influenced by the news narrative and predominantly showed off the children's achievement by employing the strategy of complaint humblebragging. As shown in Extract 1, Main User 1 complained that his/her child did not enjoy studying meanwhile boasting that his/her child was able to enter a prestigious school for satisfying self-esteem. Main User 1 complained: "*It's such a pain when the child doesn't like going to school*", and s/he seemed like not caring the child's academic result too much: "*I don't put much pressure on him*". However, s/he went on to say: "*when being able to get into a prestigious school, no one would give up this opportunity. Can't lose even one mark*." The contradictory narrative implied that Main User 1 masked the craving for the child's academic aspiration in the guise of a casual attitude. On the one hand, s/he complained about the child disliked studying and seemed not to care about the child's academic performance but on the other hand s/he disclosed that the child was about to enter a prestigious school. This Facebook comment indicated the user was likely be influenced by the news narrative and showed off his/her child's achievement for enhancing self-esteem. The news story, however, discouraged the demanding parental style. Accordingly, this Facebook user employed complaint humblebragging to mask his/her proud of the child's academic achievement.

As mentioned in Sezer, Gino, and Norton's (2018) finding, complaint humblebragging may not receive favourable feedback. The present study found that Main User 1's complaint humblebragging strategy failed to make a favourable impression if it was what s/he aimed for. The user received an unfavourable response from Reply User 1: "*Not everyone who gets into prestigious schools can catch up*". Reply User 1 suggested

that Main User 1's child might not have good academic performance even if the child could enrol in a prestigious school.

Extract 1

Strategy to satisfy self-esteem: show off achievement by using complaint humblebragging

News no. 29: News story criticised that the demanding for academic excellence might damage children's mental health.

Quote: "*Parents assume that children's future prosperity depends solely on academic excellence. Even though achieving a better academic result, is it worth sacrificing children's mental health for academic results?*"

Main User 1: "*My 12-year-old son likes playing video games but doesn't particularly enjoy studying. It's such a pain when the child doesn't like going to school. I don't put much pressure on him. However, when being able to get into a prestigious school, no one would give up this opportunity. Can't lose even one mark.*" [29.26M]

Reply User 1: "*Not everyone who gets into prestigious schools can catch up. I know some people who did not study at prestigious schools, but still had high academic performance. They eventually got into universities with confidence. So, getting into prestigious schools may not be the best. I prefer letting children learn happily with confidence*." [29.26R1]

Another example of complaint humblebragging was identified in Facebook comments responding to News no. 4. This news story was similar to News no. 29 as just mentioned, which appealed to self-esteem by mentioning students' academic achievement. The news story reported that heavy academic pressure was related to students' mental health issues and disapproved the idea that students' achievement was evaluated solely on academic performance. The present study found that Facebook users echoed the news narrative and exchanged their personal experience of heavy academic pressure. As shown

in Extract 2, both Main User 2 and Reply user 2 disapproved the tough academic workload and complained that the poor qualities of teachers and schools impeded their learning. However, their narrative changed when they brought forward their academic improvement. Main User 2 said that his/her academic performances enhanced after s/he "*got into a better secondary school*". This user suggested that his/her previous school was not a good school that blocked his/her academic growth. Thus, his/her performances improved after changing to a better school. This user received a response from Reply User 2, saying that s/he had similar experience. S/he showed off that s/he was a gifted student. With the help from professionals, s/he had a rapid academic growth. In this conversation, the two users employed complaint humblebragging to trumpet their improvement for enhancing self-esteem. Interestingly, unlike that in Extract 1, the use of complaint humblebragging in this conversation did not receive an unfavourable response. A possible explanation might be that while replying to Main User 2, Reply User 2 had a chance to make a bold response to satisfy his/her own self-esteem, for instance, s/he said: "… *an assessment revealed I was gifted*".

Extract 2

Strategy to satisfy self-esteem: show off achievement by using complaint humblebragging

News no. 4: News story appealed to self-esteem by mentioning academic performance and achievement, whereas disapproved the idea that students' achievement was evaluated solely on academic performance. Quote: "*Parents should not evaluate students' achievement in terms of academic results*."
Main User 2: "*I could feel the students' pain when going to school. I was often bullied at primary school. The workload was tough, and the attitude of teacher was harsh. That school was not good. My situation improved*

when I got into a better secondary school. Those teachers encouraged me." [4.1M]

Reply User 2: "*My case was similar to yours. My performance was not good at primary school. Teachers turned a blind eye when classmates bullied me. The quality of those teachers was poor. However, when I went to secondary school, an assessment revealed I was gifted but affected by dyslexia. I later made a rapid progress with help from experts.*" [4.1R1]

Another humblebragging strategy, humility humblebragging, was also identified. Facebook users employed humility humblebragging to enhance self-esteem while responding to News no. 4. As above mentioned, this news was heavy academic pressure and disapproval of evaluating student's achievement solely on academic performance. This news appealed to self-esteem by mentioning academic achievement. The present study found that Main User 3 was found employ humility humblebragging to satisfy self-esteem. This user initially mentioned the failure, then showed off his/her good parenting method that helped his/her child succeed. As shown in Extract 3, Main User 3 initially mentioned his/her daughter's failure at school: the child was moved down to poor performer class from elite class. Then, this user remarked his/her "*support and good guidance*" in helping the child move up to the elite class again. This user's humility humblebragging received a positive response from Reply User 3, which reinforced the user to continue bragging how his/her "*appropriate guidance*" supported the child.

Extract 3

Strategy to satisfy self-esteem: show off achievement by using humility humblebragging

News no. 4: News story urged parents not to evaluate children's achievement based solely on academic results.

Quote: "*Parents should not evaluate students' achievement in terms of academic results*."

Main User 3: "*In fact, the attitude of parents is very important! My girl got into the elite class in Secondary 1. But the teacher told us that my girl would need to move down to the poor performer class in Secondary 2. I told my girl it didn't matter and took her out to enjoy a tea buffet happily. She studied freely that year. Now, she has managed to move up to the elite class in Secondary 3. Children need support and good guidance.*" [4.16M]

Reply User 3: "*It is important to have support from home together with the cooperation of government and schools*." [4.16R1]

Main User 3: "*The education system can't change overnight. Yet, change can be made to the parents' attitude. I support my child and let her study happily. I am not saying to spoil children but should give appropriate guidance*." [4.16R2]

This theme illustrated how Facebook users employed complaint humblebragging and humility humblebragging to satisfy their self-esteem. A possible explanation for using the humblebragging strategy is that the news narrative discouraged the behaviour that parents derived their self-esteem from children's academic achievement and the idea that evaluating achievement solely by academic performance. The news stories criticised the demanding parental style and heavy academic pressure for harming children's mental health. It seemed that showing off academic excellence was not welcomed. That could be the reason Facebook users used complaint and humility to make their bragging more socially acceptable (Sezer et al., 2018).

6.3.2 Efficacy

The strategies to satisfy efficacy motive involve showing one's competence by making efforts to overcome difficulties, taking control over one's situation by calling for action, and influencing others by encouraging other people (Vignoles et al., 2006). In previous chapter, Study 2 found that news stories appealed to efficacy by encouraging action to tackle mental disorders. Both News no. 3 and no. 4 listed out some symptoms of depression and urged parents to pay attention to children's behaviour and mental states. The news stories also encouraged parents should take children to doctor without delay if the children displayed the symptoms. The present study found that the majority of Facebook users echoed the message in the news stories and satisfied the motive of efficacy by discussing actions that could tackle mental disorders and regain mental health. As shown in Extract 4, Main User 4 responded to News no. 3 about having mental health issue was a sign of incompetent. S/he was reluctant to disclose the fact that s/he had the depressive symptoms which were mentioned in the news. Main User 4 received a response from Reply User 4 who encouraged him/her by saying: "*When you enjoy doing something, you will make an effort to do it. You can strengthen your ability, every time when you overcome an obstacle*". It seemed that Reply User 4 was influenced by the news narrative about paying attention to people which displayed depressive symptoms and taking action to help. In the narrative, Reply User 4 addressed the concern about incompetence and recommended Main User 4 to make effort to strengthen ability for overcoming obstacle. Offering support and calling for action might be a strategy which Reply User 4 employed to satisfy efficacy motive.

Extract 4

Strategy to satisfy efficacy: offer recommendation and call for action to overcome obstacle

News no. 3: News reported a student suicidal case and raised public awareness of depressive symptoms. The news gave some warning from a psychiatrist that parents should pay attention to their children and take their children to doctor immediately when children displayed some symptoms of depression.

Quote: "*parents should take children to doctor without delay*."

Main User 4: "*I have these* (depressive symptoms) *almost every day. I don't want to tell my family, or it will show I am incompetent.*" [3.9M]

Reply User 4: "*When you enjoy doing something, you will make an effort to do it. You can strengthen your ability, every time when you overcome an obstacle*." [3.9R17]

Some other Facebook users also responded to the same news story and appeared to satisfy efficacy motive. For example, as shown in Extract 5, Main User 5 responded to News no. 3 regarding academic pressure. Main User 5 said that: "*life is not all about academic performance*". S/he attempted to convince students to build a broader view by exploring different interests and strengths in various fields, other than studying. This user recommended some general activities to relieve academic stress. In Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) research on the development of identity motives, they found that participants tended to satisfy efficacy through everyday action. Their findings might explain Main User 5's recommendation on doing some general activities, through calling for action to tackle difficulty, Main User 5 might aim for satisfying efficacy.

Main User 5 continued to encourage others to go beyond one's limitation by saying: "*we move on together*". When this user received a reply, which criticised the demanding learning culture in Hong Kong, s/he responded: "*we work together to change this culture*". In this narrative, it seemed that Main User 5 was influenced by the news story which attributed students' mental disorder to academic stress. Main User 5 reminded other Facebook users about one's strengths, recommended activities to reduce academic stress,

and called for action to take control over the environment. By bringing up the topic about strength, action and control one's environment, Main User 5 could be able to satisfy his/her efficacy motive.

Extract 5

Strategy to satisfy efficacy: explore one's strengths, take action to reduce academic stress, and take control over one's environment

News no. 3: News reported a student suicidal case and quoted some advice from a psychiatrist that parents should take their children to doctor immediately when children displayed some symptoms of depression. Quote: "*parents should take children to doctor without delay*."
Main User 5: "*Life is not all about academic performance. Discover personal strengths and interests,* (for example) *joining some hobby classes, doing exercise, sunbathing. Or participating in volunteer work to meet people from different walks of life, that help others and at the same time help ourselves. Everyone has worries to a certain extent, so do I. We move on together!*" [3.4M]
Reply User 5: "*Life is not all about studying. However, in Hong Kong, many people give priority to academic performance over health*." [3.4R1]
Main User 5: "*We work together to change this culture! Failure is no big deal. We should have confidence in young people.*" [3.4R2]

As shown in Extract 6, Facebook users were seemingly influenced by the news story no. 4 and responded in ways that could satisfy efficacy motive. News no. 4 reported a similar news story News no.to 3 that students' mental health problems were related to academic pressure. A Facebook user, Main User 6, responded to News no. 4 and reproached some parents for focusing too much on children's academic results without

paying attention to emotional needs. This user demanded that parents should "*learn how to be parents*" for enhancing parenting skills. As mentioned, influencing the environment is an identity enactment strategy that could satisfy efficacy (Vignoles et al., 2006). The way Main User 6 blaming parenting styles and demanding for an improvement suggested that this user called for a change of the current situation: students were suffering from academic pressure.

Main User 6 received a response from Reply User 6, disclosing that s/he was raised in a family similar to the one Main User 6 described. Being raised in a demanding family, Reply User 6 had suicidal thoughts but hesitated to commit it because s/he did not want to look incapable. In other words, Reply User 6's response implied that s/he might want to be a capable person so that s/he was unwillingly to expose his/her mental health issues. When Reply User 6 mentioned about capability, another Facebook users, Reply User 7, joined the conversation and encouraged Main User 6 to find activities that could help depression. As shown in Extract 6, Reply User 7 said: "*I had depression… I learned to bake cakes on my own. I baked cakes when I suffered from insomnia. I felt a sense of accomplishment when I made a beautiful cake*". This user disclosed his/her personal story about learning to bake cakes by his/her own effort for alleviating a depressive symptom. S/he mentioned that s/he felt a sense of accomplishment when finishing a beautiful cake. According to Vignoles and colleagues (2006), showing self-reliance and accomplishment are methods to fulfil the need for efficacy. The way Reply User 7 shared his/her successful story could be a strategy to satisfy efficacy motive. This user's response demonstrated that s/he echoed the efficacy motive evoked in the news narrative so that s/he talked about own effort to overcome depression. S/he said: "*Depression has finally left me*".

Extract 6

Strategy to satisfy efficacy: call for action, show accomplishment, and make efforts to overcome difficulties

News no. 4: News reported student suicidal cases which were related to academic pressure and urged parents should take their children to doctor immediately when children displayed some symptoms of depression.

Quote: "*A boy was allegedly under academic pressure and committed suicide. Students come under pressure from multiple sources. Parents should take children to doctor without delay*."

Main User 6: "*Parents ask children if they have finished their homework or ask their examination results right after the school day. Have parents ever asked children to share some happy stories from school with them? To learn how to be parents, they should buy parenting books to enhance their (parenting) skills*." [4.8M]

Reply User 6: "*This is my family. I have had suicidal thoughts for a long time. I just don't want people to think that I am incapable. That's why I have hesitations (in committing suicide)*." [4.8R1]

Reply User 7: "*Do you have any interests? Explore some if you don't have any. Or engage in some hobby to take your mind off things. I had depression. (At that time) I felt depressed but didn't want to take medicine, so I learned to bake cakes on my own. I baked cakes when I suffered from insomnia. I felt a sense of accomplishment when I made a beautiful cake. Just like this, I have made dessert for a year. Depression has finally left me. Now, I still make dessert when I feel down. You can find your own interests too*." [4.8R3]

Another example showed that Facebook users were influenced the appealed efficacy motive in the news narrative and acted on the advice from the news story. As found in Study 2, News no. 31 stated that city dwellers were under heavy stress and urged people to seek medical treatment when they displayed some symptoms of depression: "*If you have*

unresolved depression issues, do not suppress them. It is important to see a doctor. To maintain good mental health, pay attention to these six signs of mood disorders". The present study found that this news story could successfully make Facebook users take certain actions. As shown in Extract 7, Main User 7 told his/her friend about having two of the depressive symptoms mentioned in news story. This indicated that Main User 7 had read the six symptoms as advised in News no. 31: "*pay attention to these six signs of mood disorders*". S/he received a recommendation from a friend who asked the user to see a doctor. As shown in the conversation, Reply User 8 said: "*see a doctor as soon as possible*". Reply User 8 seemingly followed the advice from the news which emphasised seeing a doctor was important when having depressive symptoms. This example demonstrated that Facebook users were influenced by the news story, whereby reading the depressive symptoms and recommending friend to see doctor.

Extract 7

Strategy to satisfy efficacy: act on the advice from the news story

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News no. 31: News listed out symptoms of depression and told readers to see a doctor if they had depression issues.

Quote: "*If you have unresolved depression issues, do not suppress it. It is important to see a doctor. To maintain good mental health, pay attention to these six signs of mood disorders.*"

Main User 7: "[Tag Reply User 8] *1 & 3 (depressive symptoms)*" [31.1M]

Reply User 8: "*take care, see a doctor as soon as possible*." [31.1R1]

The present study found that when news stories appealed to the motive of efficacy, Facebook users generally responded positively. Some Facebook users demanded for a change to the stressful learning culture. Some others encouraged other users to seek

medical treatment and reminded them about one's own strengthens to overcome mental illnesses. So far, as shown above, when news stories appealed to efficacy, Facebook users seemed to pick up the message and employed strategies for satisfying the motive for efficacy.

6.3.3 Continuity

People have a motivation to keep the core aspects of their identity stable and enduring across times and situations. Connecting the past self with the present is one of the strategies people adopt to fulfil the continuity need (Vignoles et al., 2006). The present study found that connecting the past self with the present one was the most commonly used strategy of identity enactment responding to news which appealed to continuity motive. In Study 2, the framing analysis found that News no. 29 reported that a girl whose parents had been putting intolerable academic pressure on her since she was a child. After growing up, she eventually developed depression. This news story appealed to continuity motive by mentioning a difficult childhood causing the present event. The news said: "*The ramifications of the draconian parental style … She eventually developed depression after growing up*". The message in the news story seemed to infused Facebook users with unpleasant memories of harsh school life. As shown in Extract 8, Main User 8 and Reply User 9 exchanged their explanations of having repeated nightmares. Main User 8 applied Buddhist theory to explain that childhood frustration imprinted in people's unconscious. S/he said: "*those horrible situations (has) become part of one's life*". The past events emerged in dreams repeatedly for the rest of the life because those memories were stored in unconscious: "*once engraved, it can never be erased*". Reply User 9 agreed with Main User 8's explanation and went on to apply Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic perspective to explain how childhood experience had an enduring impact on people's ongoing

psychological development. Reply User 9 said: "*it (the situation) lasts until 30, 50, and 80 years of age. It's hard to get rid of, so people (with such childhood experiences are) vulnerable to mood disorders*". It seemed that the discussion about Buddhist theory from the East and Sigmund Freud's theory from the West attracted another Facebook user, Reply User 10's attention. Reply User 10 further provided his/her own experience as an example to support Main User 8 and Reply User 8's theories. Reply User 10 disclosed that s/he still dreamed of taking public examinations, even though s/he had graduated for 10 years. It appeared that the perspectives of Main User 8, Reply User 9, and Reply User 10 were in line with the message in the news story regarding developing depression was the ramification of heavy academic pressure in the past. Taking together, the three Facebook users exchanged their theories from the East, the West, and own experience to explain how past events that could have considerable influence on the present. The Facebook users appeared to come up with the assumption that the childhood self was long-lasting and connected to the adult self, and this assumption could be driven the continuity motive.

Extract 8

Strategy to satisfy continuity: Connect past, present, and future self

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News no. 29: News reported that a girl eventually developed depression on account of her family's continuing extreme expectations on academic results since she was a child.

Quote: "*The ramifications of the draconian parental style. A girl wanted to run away from home as young as eight years old. She eventually developed depression after growing up.*"

Main User 8: "*The scary thing is that those horrible situations often appear in dreams and become part of one's life, for the whole life. It's because frustration in childhood has a very profound effect. Once engraved, it can never be erased. It's similar to the theory of arayashiki consciousness in Buddhism, which means storage*." [29.14M]

> **Reply User 9**: "*Yes, parenting in childhood affects a person's emotions and personality development. The influence is even lifelong. For example, when a child's behaviours and thoughts are overly restricted, the child will lose the senses of autonomy and existence in adulthood. It lasts until 30, 50, and 80 years of age. It's hard to get rid of, so* (people with such childhood experience are) *vulnerable to mood disorders*." [29.14R1]
>
> **Reply User 10**: "*I do not exaggerate it. I have been in the job market for 10 years. I still dream of the time when I studied or took AL or ACCA* (public examinations) *from time to time*." [29.14R3]

Another way to satisfy the continuity motive was remembering the past (Selim et al., 2014). As found in Study 2, News no. 6 featured an interview with a teacher about schooling in the past, who recalled that when she was young, schools were half-day. Unlike today's exhausting full-day schooling, her school life was joyful as she played with peers in the afternoon after finishing morning school. The teacher said: "*when we were young, we attended morning school. At the afternoon, after finishing homework, together, we played tag or hide and seek*". She excoriated today's overwhelming schooling that put too much pressure on students. Study 2 found that this news story appealed to the motive for continuity by recalling a happy childhood. The present study found that Facebook users were driven by the nostalgic sentiment in the newspaper interview and compared their own happy childhood with today's stressful school life. As shown in Extract 9, both Main User 9 and Reply User 11 agreed with the teacher on the idea of half-day schooling. Main User 9 recalled his/her relaxing half-day school life that s/he watched cartoons after school. From what s/he described, there was not much academic pressure in the past, as opposed to that in present-day. Similarly, in Extract 10, Main User 10 was seemingly influenced by the teacher's nostalgia: "*looking back, my childhood was really happy*". Main User 10

responded to the evocative news narrative, reminiscing his/her happy school days playing football with teacher and comparing it with today's detached relationship between students and teachers. Nostalgia is a strategy, by which people connect their past selves with the present one for maintaining a sense of continuity (Vignoles et al., 2006). Sedikides and collegues (2015) conducted an experiment and found that inducing nostalgia could foster a sense of continuity. They explained that the past self became more relevant or vivid during the process of nostalgia, which in turn enhanced continuity. Sedikides and colleagues' (2015) study could explain the present findings that Facebook users were driven by their continuity motive to recollect their school life in the past for enhancing the sense of present self.

Extract 9

Strategy to satisfy continuity: nostalgia

News no. 6: News prompted a wave of nostalgia for happy half-day schooling that attracted Facebook users to share their relaxing childhood.

Quote: "*When we were young, we attended morning school. At the afternoon, after finishing homework, together, we played tag or hide and seek*."

Main User 9: "*Schools should be half-day. Let children have enough rest time and play time*." [6.22M]

Reply User 11: "*Can't agree more*." [6.22R1]

Main User 9: "*They are only young children but have to wake up at 6 every morning. When I was young, I woke up at 11, and just watched cartoons after school*." [6.22R2]

Extract 10

Strategy to satisfy continuity: nostalgia

News no. 6: News prompted a wave of nostalgia for happy school life that attracted Facebook users to share their happy memory.

Quote: "*Looking back, my childhood was really happy*."

Main User 10: "*I remember, in my secondary years, the Math teacher played football with us during lunch. Some other teachers chatted with parents. The relationships between students, teachers and parents were close. Yet, today's teachers have a heavy admin workload. They don't have time to build rapport with students*." [6.3M]

Reply User 12: "*Now, (students have) endless dictations during lunch*." [6.3R1]

The present study found that Facebook users generally picked up the continuity motive appealed to in the news stories and responded in ways that could satisfy their motive for continuity. Previous research has found that people generally pay more attention to and have better recall of information that is related to the self (Shrauger, 1975). When news story mentioned that present situation was likely be the outcome of past events, Facebook users discussed how past events lingered in memory that appeared and reappeared over the years. When news story evoked a feeling of nostalgia, Facebook users shared their reminiscence of the good old days. As people experience both physical and psychological changes throughout their lives, continuity of identity is an adaptive motive that help people survive in the constantly changing environment (Swann, 1983). Sharing one's past and present experience with other Facebook users is a way to find the sense of self in the ever-changing world (McGregor et al., 2001).

6.3.4 Distinctiveness

The preceding news framing study reported in Study 2 found that the news stories appealed to the three constructs of the distinctiveness motive: difference, separateness, and

social position. In the present study, the analysis of Facebook comments found that many Facebook users responded to the news stories and satisfied the three constructs through commenting accordingly.

6.3.4.1 Distinctiveness: Difference

The first construct of distinctiveness motive is the need for a difference, which involves different qualities in people that could distinguish themselves from others, such as abilities, opinions, personality, and appearance (Becker et al., 2012). Parenting style can be regarded as a quality in parents, which could affect children's mental health. Previous research has yielded a result between high parental expectation and children's depression (Y. Ma et al., 2018). The present study found that many Facebook users attempted to distinguish their parenting styles from those of harsh parents when the overall sentiment disapproved the heavy academic stress. For example, on the day before the release of government schools admission results, News no. 29 reported a girl who developed depression because of her parents' extreme expectation of academic achievement. This news story urged parents not to blame children if they failed to obtain a desirable admission result, or the result-oriented parenting style would put too much pressure on children that jeopardised children's mental health, similar to the case of the mentioned girl. In line with the narrative of News no. 29, some Facebook users expressed their disapproval of harsh parents and some others exchanged how their parenting styles were different from the one described in the news story. As shown in Extract 11, Main User 11 explicitly distinguished him/herself from other result-oriented parents: "*I am not the kind of parent, who demands children excel in all subjects and achieve 90 to 100 marks*". Main User 11's comments attracted replies from two other Facebook users who likewise disclosed their different parenting styles. Reply User 13 expressed that, unlike other demanding parents,

s/he would find a suitable school for his/her child, instead of pushing the child to entering prestigious schools. Another user, Reply User 14, echoed: "*I am a disobedient parent. If the (homework) requirement is too harsh for a child, I will finish it for my child*". Reply User 14's self-description as a "*disobedient parent*" suggested that s/he refused to follow the norm which made a contrast to other parents. This subtheme of distinctiveness motive demonstrated that Facebook users were driven by the news narrative. When news story reproved the extreme parental expectation for damaging children's mental health, Facebook users discussed their various parenting methods for supporting how their parenting styles were different from those of demanding parents. The emphasis of different parenting styles was an identity enactment strategy. Through Facebook commenting, such as "*I am not the kind of parent*" or "*I am a disobedient parent*", Facebook users remarked how different they were as a response to the news story.

Extract 11

Strategy to satisfy the motive for difference: have different parenting style from other parents

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News no. 29: News offered an expert's advice to parents on the day before releasing government schools admission results and urged parents not to blame their children:

Quote: "*Expert recommends how parents should cope* (with disappointing results)*: don't blame children*."

Main User 11: "*My daughter is 8 years old. I am not the kind of parent who demands children excel in all subjects and achieve 90 to 100 marks. I let my child out to play with other children after she finishes her homework*." [29.9M]

Reply User 13: "*How others pursue* (good result) *is their own business. It's important to find a school that matches the progress of the child*." [29.9R7]

Reply User 14: "*I am a disobedient parent. If the (homework) requirement is too harsh for a child, I will finish it for my child*." [29.9R11]

6.3.4.2 Distinctiveness: Separateness

The second construct of the distinctiveness motive is separateness, which is defined as the boundedness and distance from others. The need for separateness can be satisfied by increasing or maintaining symbolic boundary or physical distance from others (Vignoles et al., 2000). Symbolic boundary can be conceptualised as a psychological separateness, while physical distance can be regarded as a physical boundary between people (Becker et al., 2012).

In the previous chapter, News no. 3 was found appealing to the need for separateness by evoking the sense of symbolic boundary between a father and his son. A father who obtained an MBA from one of the best universities in the world and opened a multinational corporation. Sadly, his son who failed to cope with academic pressure jumped to his death from their luxury home. In local Hong Kong context, the middle-aged people often symbolise a senses of mature and capable, whereas teenagers symbolise the characteristics of reckless and susceptible (Ikels et al., 1992; Williams et al., 1997). News no. 3 juxtaposed the outstanding father with his failed son which reminded Facebook users about the stereotype of the younger generation. A handful of Facebook users might be influenced by those symbolic senses as they reproved today's young generation for being too vulnerable and useless, unlike their fathers' generation. In addition, they described the students in Hong Kong as spoiled child, in contrast to the students in Mainland China who

were more able to handle difficulty than Hong Kong students. Main User 12, however, disagreed with the view that Hong Kong students were unable to handle difficulty as the series of student suicide was likely an outcome of the unbearable academic pressure. As shown in Extract 12, Main User 12 said: "*I have to say that we are physically in Hong Kong*", which emphasised Hong Kong and Mainland China were two separated territories. Main User 12 suggested that even if the life in Mainland China might be harder than that in Hong Kong, it made no sense to directly compare Hong Kong students with Mainland students. Main User 12 has made a point because the two territories applied two separated school syllabus and education systems. Main User 11 indicated the physical boundary between Hong Kong and Mainland China that was likely to satisfy the need for separateness. Main User 11 received a response from Reply User 15 who satisfied separateness by echoing the symbolic boundary appealed to in the news narrative. Reply User 15 satirised the older generation as "old snobs" and imagined what they would say to taunt the younger generation: "*In our generation, we did not have as many student suicidal cases as in your generation*". Reply User 15 might be influenced by the news narrative that s/he posted a cynical comment, responding to the symbolic boundary between the old and young generations: the older generation represented mature and capable, in contrast to the younger generation.

Extract 12

Strategy to satisfy the motive for separateness: point out physical and symbolic boundary

News no. 3: News reported that a boy who failed to cope with academic pressure jumped to his death. Ironically, his father obtained an MBA from one of the best universities in the world.

Quote: "*Father graduated in MBA from Stanford University and opened a multinational corporation. Son suffered from academic pressure and plunged to death from their luxury home."*

Main User 12: "*If you say that Mainlanders experience more struggles than us, sorry, I have to say that we are physically in Hong Kong. Do we need to suffer in silence only because life in Mainland China is harder than ours?*" [3.1M]

Reply User 15: "*Those old snobs would say: we all have experienced academic pressure. In our generation, we did not have as many student suicidal cases as in your generation*." [3.1R3]

6.3.4.3 Distinctiveness: Social position

Among the three constructs of distinctiveness, social position was found particularly prominent. Social position is defined as the distinctiveness in social status, and in one's role within social relationships (Becker et al., 2012). In Study 2, the framing analysis found that News no. 17 to News no. 20 reported the same news story which was about a man who was in urgent medical need had to join a long queue for treatment. In contrast, two pro-government politicians with mild medical conditions jumped the queue and received medical care promptly. This news story revealed the social inequality in the healthcare system: "*Ordinary people with no power have to wait forever. The privileged can jump the queue*". As found in Study 2, this news story appealed to distinctiveness by marking the contrast of social positions between an ordinary citizen and the privileged. In the present study, a majority of Facebook users were found largely picked up the message of social inequality. They predominantly reproached the fact that ordinary people received unfair treatment, as opposed to the rich and those in power. As shown in Extract 13, Main User 13 recited the opening lines of a well-known Chinese poem: "*Meat and wine go to waste inside mansions with vermilion doors. The poor die from freezing cold along the*

street". This poem depicted social inequality that, in ancient China, the rich lived in mansions with bright red doors, inside which they enjoyed more than enough food. In contrast, the poor were homeless and died in cold weather. This poem juxtaposes the contrasting lives of the rich and the poor for highlighting the rich-poor gap in the society. The recite of this poem was an ironic remark directed at the social inequality in the healthcare system reported in News no. 20. Reply User 16 replied Main User 13 by reciting the ending lines of the same poem: "*those who kill and arson are given gold medal 'politicians abuse of power', whereas those who sacrifice for others are forgotten 'no one remembers how ordinary people sacrificed for the society'*". This part of the poem describes some people who are in high position are pardoned for the wrongdoing, whereas the contributions of ordinary people are disregarded. Reply User 16's reply was an analogy made between people abused their power with the pro-government politicians seemingly had privilege in the healthcare system.

Extract 13

Strategy to satisfy the need for social position: emphasise distinct social status between ordinary citizens and the privileged

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News no. 20: An ordinary citizen who was in urgent medical need had to join a long queue for treatment, whereas two pro-government politicians with mild medical conditions jumped the queue and received medical treatment.

Quote: "*Ordinary people with no power have to wait forever. The privileged can jump the queue."*

Main User 13: "*Meat and wine go to waste inside mansions with vermilion doors. The poor die from freezing cold along the street*." [20.4M]

Reply User 16: "*those who kill and arson are given gold medal 'politicians abuse of power', whereas those who sacrifice for others are*

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forgotten 'no one remembers how ordinary people sacrificed for the society'." [20.4R1]

An interesting phenomenon was observed that a noticeable number of Facebook users left sarcastic comments to express their dissatisfaction with the unfair treatments between the two social positions, ordinary people and the privileged. In Extract 14, Main User 14 said: "*As we are not high-ranking government officials,* (we) *have to wait*". It seemed that Main User 14's comment contained heavy irony that this user used self-depreciation to express disapproval.

Extract 14

Strategy to satisfy the need for distinctiveness about social position: emphasise distinct social status between ordinary citizens and the privileged

News no. 17: An ordinary citizen who was in urgent medical need had to join a long queue for treatment, whereas two pro-government politicians with mild medical conditions jumped the queue and received medical treatment.

Quote: "*Ordinary people with no power have to wait forever. The privileged can jump the queue."*

Main User 14: "*As we are not high-ranking government officials,* (we) *have to wait*." [17.3M]

Reply User 17: (Some rude language to condemn the politicians who jumped the queue) [17.4R1]

In Extract 15, Main User 15, repeated the news narrative: "*Although we are all human, we have different fates*". S/he said ironically that the man who needed urgent treatment should join the political party so that he could enjoy special arrangements in the healthcare system, similar to the two politicians. Reply User 18 echoed Main User 15's

satirical tone and called the two pro-government politicians as government's "*lackeys*", who had advantages in the system. Prior research has found sarcasm in online comments which could explain the present findings (Poole et al., 2015; Selim, 2016). Selim's (2016) findings were similar with that of the present study that social media users adopted sarcasm to reproach government or public figures in order to satisfying the distinctiveness motive. Selim explained that social media provided the online platforms to discuss some topics which might be perceived as sensitive in the offline context. In the present subtheme, identifying with ordinary citizens satisfied the social position construct of distinctiveness motive. It was the identity enactment that Facebook users distinguished their social status from the two politicians. The Facebook users left sarcastic online comments to vent their frustration with the social inequality between ordinary citizens and the privileged.

Extract 15

Strategy to satisfy the need for distinctiveness about social position: emphasise distinct social status between ordinary citizens and the privileged

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News no. 17: An ordinary citizen who was in urgent medical need had to join a long queue for treatment, whereas two pro-government politicians with mild medical conditions jumped the queue and received medical treatment.

Quote: "*Although we are all human, we have different fates."*

Main User 15: "*Although we are all human, we have different fates. He should blame himself for not teaming up with Tam and Chan* (surnames of the two pro-government politicians). *If he had done so, everything would have been sorted out*." [20.7M]

> **Reply User 18**: "*It's not too late* (to join them)*, but not sure if they welcome more lackeys as their existing benefits will be attenuated* (by newcomers)." [20.7R1]

Poole and colleagues (2015) have found that some online users employed self-depreciation, irony, and sarcasm to discuss mood disorders. They explained that the use of sarcasm was a way to discuss some awkward topics in a less intense manner. In this subtheme, Facebook users were found using analogy to compare social inequality in the healthcare system. In addition, using self-depreciation and sarcasm to express disapproval on the unfair treatment between the ordinary man and pro-government politicians. It seemed that ordinary citizens did not have much power to challenge the government. The expression of sarcasm on Facebook became a way to vent the helpless feeling (Dekay, 2012).

6.3.5 Meaning

Meaning motive is defined as a need to find significance or purpose in one's existence (Vignoles et al., 2006). People satisfy this motive by pursuing meaning, hope, and value in one's existence, or searching for purposes in things and behaviours (Vignoles, 2011).

In Study 2, the framing analysis found that News no. 4 reported the 19th student who died by suicide since commencement of the academic year. The news compiled a list of depressive symptoms for reminding parents to take care of children's mental health. The symptoms included hopelessness and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities. This news story was found appealing to meaning motive by mentioning hopelessness and loss of interest. In the present study, some Facebook users were found expressing their sorrow over the death of the student. Some users attempted to cheer up the

students by asking them to be positive. However, many Facebook users pointed out that the academic pressure was too overwhelming that students could not find meaning in going to school, and those Facebook users attributed this to the series of student suicides. As shown in Extract 16, Main User 16, pointed out that simply asking students to be positive could not solve the issue of student suicide. The series of tragedies should be attributed to the high-pressure education system which overrode the meaning of learning. Main User 16 shared his/her opinion on the series of suicide: "*The reason people want to end their lives is because they don't want to live in a life in which they can't find meaning. For them, death is an escape*". Previous research has found that students might felt hopeless and had suicidal ideation when they could find no purpose in life (Edwards & Holden, 2001). The findings explained Main User 16's assumption that death became an escape for those who could find meaning.

Extract 16

Strategy to satisfy meaning: discuss how the overwhelming education system has overridden the meaning of learning

News no. 4: The 19th student plunged to his/her death since the commencement of this academic year. News urged parents to pay attention to depressive symptoms, including the hopelessness and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities.

Quote: "*warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*."

Main User 16: "*The education system is a source of the problem. You can't motivate them by simply asking them to be positive. The reason people want to end their lives is because they don't want to live in a life in which they can't find meaning. For them, death is an escape*." [4.14M]

Reply User 19: "*That's right*." [4.14R1]

A number of Facebook user responded to the same news story and disclosed having the symptoms similar with those mentioned in the news story, for example feeling hopeless and desperate. Main User 17's response indicated that the news story infused him/her a sense of meaning and made him/her have some reflection on his/her mental health and personal life conditions. The meaning motive which was appealed to in the news story might further influenced another Facebook user since Reply User 19 attempted to encourage Main User 17 by bringing some hope in life. Reply User 19 said: "*It (Life) is not easy, (but) hope is around the corner*", as shown in Extract 17. The conversation between the two users showed that the news narrative had influence on Facebook users' need for satisfying meaning motive.

Extract 17

Strategy to satisfy meaning: find hope in one's life

News no. 4: News reported a student suicidal case and listed out depressive symptoms, including the feeling of hopelessness. Quote: "*warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*."
Main User 17: "*I also feel a lack of social support and hope. No friends, no money. I want my life passing quickly*." [4.28M]
Reply User 20: "*It* (Life) *is not easy*, (but) *hope is around the corner*." [4.28R3]

Likewise, in previous chapter, Study 2 found that News no. 3 appealing to meaning motive by making people have some reflection on the meaning in learning. The news story attributed the series of student suicide to heavy academic pressure which harmed students' mental health. With limited leisure and rest time, it seemed that studying had become the

only thing in the life of the students. The news story included a list of non-governmental organisations with suicide hotlines and urge people to contact those organisations when they displayed some depressive symptoms, including feeling hopeless and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities. The present study found that some Facebook users criticised that education had lost its meaning when it pushed the students over the edge; meanwhile other users attempted to encourage them by addressing the need for meaning. Similar to Main User 16 as aforementioned, Main User 18 had the perspective that the stressful school life was problematic. As shown in Extract 18, Main User 18 complained the result-oriented schooling that made learning lose its meaning: "*When going to school is not for learning knowledge or the principles of life but for examination skills and high marks, tell me what's the meaning of learning*". Similar to Main User 16, Main User 18 received encouragement from another Facebook user. Reply User 20 attempted to bring some hope to Main User 18 by reminding him/her about one's value and recommending him/her to find one's spiritual existence. Previous research has found that religious beliefs played an important in identity construction and offered meaning to both positive and negative events in life (King, 2003). This could support Reply User 20's idea that "*With God's guidance, we can find our spiritual existence*" and searching for meaning in one's existence would help overcome the feeling of hopelessness (Kelley & Chan, 2012)

Extract 18

Strategy to satisfy meaning: find hope in one's life

News no. 4: News reported a student suicidal case and listed out depressive symptoms, including the feeling of hopelessness.

Quote: "*warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*."
Main User 18: "*When going to school is not for learning knowledge or the principles of life but for examination skills and high marks, tell me what's the meaning of learning*." [3.1M] **Reply User 21**: "*Life is tough if we can't find value in ourselves. With God's guidance, we can find our spiritual existence*." [3.1R4]

The present study found that a number of Facebook users disclosed having academic pressure or even suicidal ideation when responding to the news stories regarding student suicides. Other users attempted to reassure those who lost hope Frankl (1963), a pivotal figure in existential psychology, has theorised the importance of meaning in life for depression (Disabato et al., 2017). Prior research has demonstrated the relationship between meaning in life and depression that supported Frankl's theory (Addis & Jacobson, 1996; Mascaro & Rosen, 2005). For instance, Disabato and colleagues (2017) conducted a longitudinal study and found that meaning in life could significantly predict a decrease in depression in three-months' time. Those researchers explained that searching for meaning could promote intrinsic motivation to strive for life goals. Through the process of searching for meaning, people find purpose for striving for self-improvement which contributed to mood enhancement (Emmons, 2003; Morgan & Robinson, 2013). Disabato and colleagues' (2017) explanation also supported the present findings that the ideas that Facebook users recommended others to pursue meaning might help alleviate depression.

6.3.6 Belonging

Belonging can be referred to motive for maintaining and enhancing social connection with other people (Vignoles et al., 2006). To satisfy belonging motive, people

may seek social support from others or join group activities for increasing their closeness to and acceptance by others (W. E. Thomas et al., 2017). Social media provide platforms for easy forming social connection (Frison & Eggermont, 2015). The function of tagging other users is a tool on social media for identity enactment and that is able to satisfy users' belonging motive (Selim et al., 2014). On Facebook, the @ symbol is used for tagging. When a Facebook user tags other accounts, a connection is built. Tagging sends a signal from the one who tags others that s/he asks for a direct communication with those who are tagged (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). The present study found that a large number of Facebook users used the tag function to connect with Facebook friends for social support. News no. 3 was found appealing to belonging motive by mentioning the feeling of lack of social support as a symptom of depression and accordingly encouraging help seeking behaviour. Facebook users are influenced by the appealed belonging motive as they predominantly tagged their friends and disclosed having depressive symptoms, in addition, asked for a helping hand. As shown in Extract 19, Main User 19 tagged Reply User 21 and disclosed having the depressive symptoms mentioned in the news story and sought help accordingly. Reply User 21 replied that s/he had those depressive symptoms as well. A study conducted by Frison and Eggermont (2015) has found that self-disclosure of mental health issue and seeking social support on Facebook could reduce Facebook users' depressed mood. Although the present study did not know if Reply User 21 offered support to Main User 19 as requested, the self-disclosure behaviour was a way to release negative emotion and reduce depressive symptoms (Frison & Eggermont, 2015).

Extract 19

Strategy to satisfy belonging: create social connection with Facebook friends and seek social support

News no. 3: News reported a student suicidal case and listed out depressive symptoms, including the perceived lack of social support.

Quote: "*warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*."

Main User 19: "[Tag Friend A] *is that me* (having depression*)? Help me quickly*" [3.25M]

Reply User 22: "[Friend A replied] *I have those symptoms*." [3.25R1]

Likewise, as shown in Extract 20 and Extract 21, the Facebook users responded to News no. 3. Both Main User 20 and Main User 21 seemed to be influenced by the appealed belonging motive in the same news post. They tagged their Facebook friends and disclosed their mental health issues on Facebook. Both users received verbal support from their friends. Reply User 22 and Reply User 23 showed their care. Reply User 24 attempted to encourage Main User 21 by disclosing the fact that s/he had those symptoms as well. Reply User 24 offered recommendation, "*relax*" and staying "*optimistic*" as some ways to handle difficulties.

Extract 20

Strategy to satisfy belonging: create social connection with Facebook friends and seek social support

News no. 3: News reported a student suicidal case and listed out depressive symptoms, including the feeling of lack of social support.

Quote: "*warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*."

Main User 20: "[Tag Friend A] *'Feeling depressed for two consecutive weeks and losing interest in enjoyable activities', am I having depression*?" [3.11M]

Reply User 23: "[Friend A replied] *Oh, I truly worry about you*." [3.11R1]

Extract 21

Strategy to satisfy belonging: create social connection with Facebook friends and seek social support

News no. 3: News reported a student suicidal case and listed out depressive symptoms, including the feeling of lack of social support.

Quote: "*warning signs: perceived incompetence, hopelessness, lack of social support, and loss of interest in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities*."

Main User 21: "[Tag Friend A and Friend B] *I will be the next* (to commit suicide)" [3.30M]

Reply User 24: "[Friend B replied] *Don't be silly. Don't put too much stress on yourself. Things will improve*." [3.30R1]

Reply User 25: "[Friend A replied] *Relax. There are many other important things* (other than studying). *You can retake the examination if you fail. No worries. By the way, I have those symptoms too, but I still live happily. Be optimistic.*" [3.30R2]

The present study has found that Facebook users were willing to publicly disclose their mental health issues and sought help. This finding may contradict to previous research in offline context that people with depression are reluctance to openly discuss their mental health issues and seek help (Ben-Porath, 2002; Schomerus et al., 2009). In contrast, research on Facebook has found that people revealed their mental health issues and sought social support on this online platform. Moreno and colleagues (2011) found that students were willing to disclose their depressive symptoms on Facebook. When the students were reinforced by Facebook friends, they were more likely to discuss their

mental health issues publicly on Facebook. Zhang (2017) further investigated how social support might affect self-disclosure of mental health problems on Facebook. She separated social support into perceived social support and enacted social support (Barrera, 1986). Perceived social support is Facebook users' subjective evaluation of the likelihood that they will receive social support from Facebook friends. Enacted social support is the actual support Facebook users have received from Facebook friends, including encouragement, advice, and offering tangible help (R. Zhang, 2017). She found that enacted social support significantly predicted self-disclosure, as opposed to perceived social support. Her outcomes indicated that the actual social support drove Facebook users to disclose their mental health issues.

The research outcomes of Moreno and colleagues (2011) and Zhang (2017) could explain the present findings that the enacted social support drove self-disclosure. When News no. 3 appealed to belonging motive, Facebook users used the tag function to create social connection. After being tagged, friends replied and offered actual support. For instance, as shown in Extract 21, Reply User 24 offered recommendation, "*be optimistic*", for handling difficulties. The tag function fetched enacted social support which reinforced self-disclosure, and Facebook users were willingly to expose their mental health problems in a news post that opened to public.

Facebook tag is also a tool to engage the tagged users in a given topic (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). The present study found that Facebook users predominantly followed recommendation for going hiking with friends as promoted in News no. 21 and tagged their friends to discuss the topic of hiking. News no. 21 was found in Study 2 that it appealed to belonging motive by promoting hiking with friends for overcoming negative emotions. This news mentioned: "*Take a break from the city on weekends. You are stressed, so am I. Let's go hiking with friends to de-stress. Kick negative emotions away*."

Facebook users' motive for belonging were seemingly aroused by the news narrative. As shown in Extract 22, Main User 22 tagged his/her Facebook friends and repeated a line in the news story: "*Today, we kicked all the negative emotions away*", and his/her friend recommended going hiking again. These two users seemed to enjoy this outdoor activity as they talked about their next hiking trip.

Extract 22

Strategy to satisfy belonging: tag Facebook friends and arrange group activities

News no. 21: News recommended group activities to reduce negative emotions. Quote: "*You are stressed, so am I. Let's go hiking with friends to de-stress. Kick negative emotions away*."
Main User 22: "*Today, we kicked all the negative emotions away* [Tag Friend A and Friend B]" [21.8M] **Reply User 26**: "[Friend A replied] *When we have time, let's go again and take some more photos.*" [21.8R1]

Other Facebook users also showed enthusiasm for hiking. Reply User 27, shown in Extract 23, said that: "*Now is the best season for hiking*." Main User 24, shown in Extract 24, expressed: "*I really want to go hiking*". His/her friend, Reply User 28, further tagged another friend for forming a larger hiking group.

Extract 23

Strategy to satisfy belonging: tag Facebook friends and arrange group activities

News no. 21: News recommended group activities to reduce negative emotions. Quote: "*You are stressed, so am I. Let's go hiking with friends to de-stress. Kick negative emotions away*."

Main User 23: "[Tag Friend A] *The Mount Victoria Peak is waiting for us*" [21.2M]
Reply User 27: "[Friend A replied] *Now is the best season for hiking. Rainfall is low in this season.*" [21.2R1]

Extract 24

Strategy to satisfy belonging: tag Facebook friends and arrange group activities

News no. 21: News recommended group activities to reduce negative emotions. Quote: "*You are stressed, so am I. Let's go hiking with friends to de-stress. Kick negative emotions away*."
Main User 24: "[Tag Friend A and Friend B] *I really want to go hiking*." [21.9M]
Reply User 28: "[Friend B replied] *Let me tag* [Friend C] *to join us.*" [21.9R1]

Those Facebook users appeared to be excited about this outdoor activity as many users tagged their friends. Doing exercises in natural environments may enhance people's mood (Berman et al., 2012). Berman and colleagues (2012) investigated the effect on depression while walking in natural environment versus urban environment. Participants with depressive symptoms were asked to either walk in a natural environment (a trail with trees alongside) or in an urban environment (a street with heavy traffic). The results revealed that participants who walked in the natural environment had a significant mood improvement, as compared with those who walked in the urban environment. Berman and colleagues' (2012) research outcomes may explain the present findings that Facebook users' eagerness to go hiking. When News no. 21 instigated Facebook users' belonging motives by saying "*go hiking with friends*", it reminded them about the enjoyable moments

with friends in the natural environment. The users tagged their friends about hiking trips for satisfying their belonging motive accordingly.

6.4 Conclusion of Study 3

To conclude this chapter, the present study aimed to fill the gap in existing literature by exploring how Facebook users satisfied identity motives while responding to news stories. Overall, this study found that Facebook users predominantly picked up the identity motives appealed to in the news narrative and responded to the news posts to satisfy those identity motives accordingly. For self-esteem motive, Facebook users used humblebragging, a self-presentation strategy, to show off their achievement in the forms of complain or humility. To satisfy the efficacy motive, Facebook users enacted identity elements to show that they were self-reliance and capable to act on the environment. Continuity was also identified. Facebook users appeared to satisfy this motive by connecting the past self with the present one. The distinctiveness motive was more prominent. The present study conducted in the Hong Kong bicultural context found that Facebook users enacted elements to satisfy the three constructs of distinctiveness motive: difference, separateness, and social position. Among the three constructs, social position was the most noticeable whereby it highlighted social inequality between ordinary people and the privileged. Facebook users emphasised that they were ordinary citizens and left sarcastic comments to complain about the unfair treatments between the two social positions. Another motive, meaning, was also identified in this study. Facebook users promoted the pursuit of meaning as identity enactment to satisfy the meaning motive. The last motive identified was belonging. This study found that the tagging function on Facebook became a tool of identity enactment. When tagging a Facebook friend, a social connection is created. This study found that a large number of Facebook users tagged their

Facebook friends for social support, which satisfied their belonging motive. So far, the present research project has conducted three studies to examine identity motives on Facebook. The next chapter will present the general discussion of this thesis.

CHAPTER 7

General Discussion

Identity is a self-concept of oneself as a person and involves part of the self, by which a person is known to others (Rosenberg, 1986). The construction of identity is the personal and social process that involves how a person defines themselves (identity definition) and how a person presents their identity in a social context (identity enactment) (Vignoles et al., 2000). Vignoles and colleagues (2006) examined the motivational influence on identity construction and concluded six fundamental identity motives: self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning, and belonging. They found that the six identity motives have a variety of influences on cognitive evaluation of identity definition and behavioural performance of identity enactment. Vignoles (2011) later developed motivated identity construction theory to illustrate the basic conceptual framework that people are motivated to display the self-defining aspects of identity to fulfil their identity needs. The motivational influence on identity construction has recently been examined in social media (Manzi et al., 2018; Selim et al., 2014), yet a model to delineate the motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions of identity work on Facebook is still lacking. The main purpose of this thesis is to examine the motivational influence on the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction.

Based on boyd and Ellison's (2008) definition of social media, Profiles and social connections are two major features that could define these online platforms. The present research project investigated motivational influence on identity construction on Facebook Profiles and Facebook News Feed which is a place full of social connections. In the past

three chapters, a series of studies drawing from motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) examined identity motives and Facebook identity work. This thesis began with a piece of quantitative research, followed by two qualitative studies. Study 1 was a cross-sectional quantitative study to examine the relationships between identity motives and Facebook Profile use and activities. A conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure was tested in Study 1. The overall fit of the model was very good. As shown in Figure 6, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure shows that the six motives contribute independently to the cognitive dimension and behavioural outcomes direct and indirectly. Moreover, the model illustrates the dynamics of multiple motives in combination that influence identity construction on Facebook Profile. After testing identity motives on Profiles, this thesis moved forward to look into identity motives on Facebook News Feed, on which is a place full of social connection. Users can see other users' Facebook activities and interact with them accordingly. Traditional news media rushed to Facebook to report news there and interact with Facebook users. Study 2 of this thesis was a piece of qualitative research to explore how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing. The present research incorporated Vignoles's (2011) motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into Giles and Shaw's (2009) Media Framing Analysis, and the six motives were identified in the news narrative. After examining identity motives and news framing, Facebook users' comments on the corresponding news posts were analysed. Study 3 was a piece of qualitative research to investigate how Facebook users satisfied identity motives in responding to news framing. The present research identified the six identity motives in Facebook comments. The outcomes showed that Facebook users generally picked up the messages in news framing and responded to the corresponding identity motives. A summary showing news framing and Facebook users' responses is listed in Table 7.

7.1 Meaning Outshone Self-esteem

The correlational analyses in Study 1 showed that the six identity motives were positively associated with perceived centrality and identity exploration (cognitive dimension), and smartphone use, posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures (behavioural dimension). The present findings demonstrated that self-esteem was not the only motive contributing to identity construction. Motives for efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging each show a variety of contributions to identity construction. Of those motives, meaning yielded the highest correlation coefficient with perceived centrality. When Vignoles and colleagues (2006) examined identity motives, they argued that early research has overemphasised the role of self-esteem in identity construction. They found that participants rated as more central the identity elements that provided a greater sense of meaning in lives. In their series of studies, the influence of the meaning motive outperformed that of self-esteem to predict perceived centrality. Their findings indicated that the influence of meaning on identity work is beyond the influence of self-esteem (Hogg, 2000; Tajfel, 1974, as cited in Vignoles et al., 2006). Identity definition is influenced by people's relationship with the social environment (Deci & Ryan, 2000). People evaluate their identity through cognitive processes of self-perception and reflected appraisal (Shrauger, 1975, as cited in Vignoles et al., 2006). The influence of some motives may be stronger than relative to that of self-esteem in response to different social environments (Brewer et al., 1993; Swann et al., 1987). The present outcomes found in the Facebook context are consistent with those of Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) research conducted in offline contexts that self-esteem was not the only motivational influence on identity construction, and the other five motives yielded a variety of contributions. Of those motives, the meaning motive statistically outshone self-esteem in

the correlation with perceived centrality (Vignoles et al., 2006). The meaning motive also plays an important role in the present model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, to shape identity processes, as discussed below.

7.2 Identity Definition and the Dynamic of Identity Motives

In the path analysis presented in Chapter 4, the motives for meaning as well as for self-esteem, distinctiveness and belonging contribute indirectly to behavioural outcomes: smartphone use, Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures, through perceived centrality. The findings indicated that the four motives drove Facebook users to use smartphones, post on Facebook Walls and change Profile Pictures to enact the central aspects of their identity. The present model shows similar patterns with those in Vignoles and colleagues' (2006) research that the four motives influence identity enactment through identity definition. Previous literature has showed the dynamic among self-esteem, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging, and that could explain the present findings. During the development of social identity theory, Tajfel and Turner (1979) discussed that members in a social group were driven to find a meaningful distinctiveness to see themselves in a positive light. Brewer (1991) built on social identity theory to propose optimal distinctiveness theory to point out that people not only had a need for assimilation with others but also for differentiation. Optimal distinctiveness theory proposes that people are driven by assimilation and differentiation to obtain an optimal balance between belonging and distinctiveness to maintain self-esteem (W. E. Thomas et al., 2017). Hogg (2000) also built on social identity theory; however, he further included a need for meaning to explain the interplay between belonging, distinctiveness and self-esteem. Hogg (2000) developed subjective uncertainty reduction theory which focuses on the motivational identity process between the sense of existence and the external world. Subjective uncertainty reduction

theory proposes that subjective uncertainty about the environment affects the perceived meaning of people's existence. To reduce the uncertainty, people are directed by the belonging motive to find meaningful similarities with others in the social group to decide how to respond in a social situation. In the meantime, people are driven by distinctiveness to find meaningful differences with others to enhance self-esteem (Hogg, 2000). Subjective uncertainty reduction theory could explain the present findings that Facebook users enact the identity elements that provide greater senses of meaning, distinctiveness, belonging and self-esteem. Facebook users observe other users' responses to a certain situation to reduce uncertainty. They find their existence on Facebook to be meaningful and can increase their self-esteem when they find similarities with and show differences with others through posting on Facebook Walls and changing Profile Pictures. The present findings are in line with Chan, Berger and van Boven's (2012) research that identity is multidimensional. They found that people simultaneously made similar choices to others and expressed unique desires relative to other members. On one dimension, people assimilate to a positive reference group to communicate an identity similar to the group members. On another dimension, they pursue uniqueness to display the aspects of identity that is different from others (C. Chan et al., 2012). Chan and colleagues' (2012) findings indicate a flexibility in identity work, so that people construct and display the aspects of identity in response to different social environments to achieve their identity goal.

7.3 Fluidity of Facebook Identity

This thesis has begun with the different perspectives on one identity or multiple identities. Mark Zuckerberg asserted that people could "have one identity" (Kirkpatrick, 2010, p. 199 as cited in van Dijck, 2013), whereas some papers argued that people could have multiple identities on social media platforms (Bóveda-Lambie & Lambeth, 2018)

(van Dijck, 2013). Although this thesis has no attempt to examine Zuckerberg's claim, the present research findings suggested a fluidity of Facebook identity which may provide some insight into the discussion on one identity or multiple identities. As shown in the present Motivational Facebook Identity Structure model, the continuity motive shows null finding on the prediction of perceived centrality, identity exploration, and identity enactment. Meanwhile, motives for distinctiveness and meaning show significant findings to predict identity enactment through both perceived centrality and identity exploration. The outcomes indicate that Facebook users may not aim to claim a fixed continuing identity on Facebook Profile, but a fluid one which gives them a greater sense of distinctiveness and meaning.

Some may argue that posts on social media are records of the past. Users can go back and forth to check past and present posts of themselves and of other users. The structural interfaces of social media prompt users to perform a continuing presentation of self (Papacharissi, 2010). The present research criticises this argument on the grounds that it may overlook social comparison on Facebook. Facebook was initially develop for maintaining and expanding offline relationships (Ellison & boyd, 2013). The interconnection of social circles on this social media platform, however, is more complex than that in the offline world. On Facebook, diverse subgroups, including family, friends, co-workers and clients, converge in a single network that reduces social boundaries (boyd, 2010). Information of one user in a subgroup is easily spread across diverse personal- and work-related subgroups (McConnell et al., 2017). People establish their self-perceptions, to a certain extent, based on how and what they are doing in comparison to others (de Vries & Kühne, 2015). Social comparison is salient in the Facebook environment, in which users are able to see what others are doing. The motives for meaning and distinctiveness drive users to selectively and flexibly post certain identity elements which

emphasise certain aspects of their identity for distinguishing themselves from others (Appel et al., 2016; Bóveda-Lambie & Lambeth, 2018). The concept of a fluid identity process can be illustrated by the aforementioned example of a musician: A person finds his/her identity to be a musician self-defining when such identity satisfies the motives for meaning and distinctiveness. In contrast, the identity as a musician becomes less self-defining when s/he blends into a group of musicians. To search for a meaningful distinctive identity, that person explores other aspects of the self, such as that of a teacher, for standing out from other musicians (Vignoles et al., 2000, 2008). That person may post something related to teaching for presenting the teacher-aspect of his/her identity, in addition to the musician-aspect.

Action identification theory (Vallacher & Wegner, 2012) may help explain the idea of constructing a fluid Facebook identity. The theory proposes that people's actions can be interpreted in many ways, and the ways people make sense of the actions determine what those actions tell about their identity (Hoyle et al., 1999). People take action to construct and display the different aspects of their identities. They monitor the identity process and regulate their actions during social interaction for fulfilling their identity goals (Vallacher & Wegner, 2012). On Facebook, users observe what others are doing and selectively and flexibly display identity elements to enact different aspects of identity. Illustrating by the example of a musician again, by showing different identity elements on Facebook, such person can evaluate if being a musician or a teacher may bring him/her a meaningful distinctive identity. S/he can then flexibly display the identity elements which could emphasise the aspects as being a musician or a teacher. When such person finds that the identity as a musician fails to satisfy his/her needs for meaning and distinctiveness, s/he may post other identity elements to show the aspect of being a teacher. In response to the

situation, that person may regulate his/her action to shift back the identity as a musician by posting something related to music.

It seems that a person could have more than one identity, as being a musician or a teacher, which may contradict Zuckerberg's one identity theory. However, it does not mean that such person has multiple identities, in contrast to what has argued in previous papers. Indeed, the present thesis argues that the perspectives of one identity or multiple identities cannot precisely capture the idea that identity is fluid. A person can be both a musician and a teacher because they are two aspects in such person's identity. The present findings suggest the notion that the actions on Facebook help users construct and display a fluid identity, as opposed to building a fixed continuing identity.

7.3 Efficacy, Belonging and Identity Enactment

Motivational Facebook Identity Structure demonstrates that the efficacy and belonging motives yield direct influence on Facebook Walls and Profile Pictures respectively. The findings illustrate that, in the process of identity construction on Facebook, posting on Facebook Walls provides a greater sense of efficacy, and changing Profile Pictures provides a greater sense of belonging. The efficacy motive is defined as the capacity to act on the environment, and the belonging motive is defined as having a place in the environment (Vignoles, 2011). Vignoles and colleagues (2006) found that people satisfied the two motives through identity enactment of everyday actions. These two motives are more relevant to people's relationship with the external world than to internal cognition (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 2000). According to self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000), autonomy, competence, and relatedness are basic human drives. People are motivated to take control of their behaviour, to see themselves capable of exerting control over the external world (efficacy) and to be

accepted by others (belonging). On Facebook, the function of user-generated content facilitates ordinary people's action on social media, which gives them a greater sense of autonomy (Betton et al., 2015; E. F. Thomas et al., 2015). Posting on Facebook Walls is a form of self-expression which increases the sense of efficacy (Betton et al., 2015). Changing Profile Pictures is an exercise of self-presentation which shows who the Profile belongs to (Strano, 2008; Winston, 2013). The needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness explain the present findings that users generate the content on Facebook to construct the identity, which provides a greater sense of efficacy and belonging.

Motives for efficacy and belonging were found more relevant to promoting action in Study 2 and Study 3 of this thesis. In Study 2, news stories were found appealing to the efficacy motive to encourage action for tackling mental disorders. For example, news reported that a politician sought medical help to overcome depression: "*Take the initiative to seek medical treatment. Get along with the disorder. Cheung* (his surname) *gets out of the dark haze of depression*" (Ming Pao Daily, 8th March 2016). Another news story reported that an actor did exercise to overcome a mood disorder. Also, a news item featured a recovered patient who practiced art therapy to alleviate depression. These news stories depicted people taking action to combat mental disorders. In Study 3, the examination of Facebook comments found that users largely picked up the news narrative and left comments to satisfy their efficacy motive. For example, as shown in Extract 6 in Study 3, Reply User 7 mentioned that s/he learned to bake cakes on his/her own. Through such activity, the user gained a sense of accomplishment and eventually recovered from depression. As shown in Extract 5, other Facebook users also shared how they overcome negative mood and recommended daily activities to improve mood, such as doing exercise, enjoying sunbathing, and participating in volunteer work. The ways Facebook users

sharing their experience and providing recommendations are forms of identity enactment, which gives them a great sense of efficacy.

The belonging motive was also found to be related more to the external world than to internal cognition. Study 2 found that news stories urged family and friends to offer social support to those who displayed depressive symptoms, for instance: "*Pay attention to family and friends' behaviours*" (Ming Pao Daily, 18th March 2016). Other news stories promoted group activities to draw out a sense of belonging. News featured a non-government organisation's advice to tackle the drop in children's perceived happiness: "*An NGO recommends that children could be benefited from joining group activities*" (Oriental Daily, 3rd April 2016). Study 2 found that news stories appealed to the belonging motive by promoting social support and group activities. In Study 3, Facebook users were found echoing the news narrative to show their support to friends and to organise group activities. Users especially used the tag function on Facebook to facilitate the identity enactment for satisfying the belonging motive. When tagging a friend on Facebook, the connection between two users is established. Facebook users tag friends for social support and to organise group activities. For example, as shown in Extract 22 and 23, Facebook users tagged friends to express emotional issues and their friends replied to show their social support. Another example, shown in Extract 19 to 21, users tagged friends to call for group activities. As aforementioned, self-determination theory proposed that relatedness, as well as autonomy and competence, are basic needs that people strive to satisfy through actions (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 2000). On Facebook, the interaction, such as like and comment, is a practical way to enact social support (R. Zhang, 2017).

7.5 Distinctiveness in Bicultural Context

This thesis set out to examine identity motives in Hong Kong, a bicultural city combining individualist and collectivist cultures (Hong et al., 2000). In Study 1, the correlational analyses found that distinctiveness yielded significant positive relationships with perceived centrality, identity exploration and variables in the behavioural dimension. In the path analysis, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure shows that distinctiveness predicts behavioural outcomes through both perceived centrality and identity exploration. Facebook users are motivated to construct the central aspects of their identity and explore different aspects of their identity that provide a greater sense of distinctiveness.

There was an argument in previous literature that distinctiveness might be a cultural product that is exclusive to the individualist context. Previous cultural studies have generally agreed that people in individualist cultures have an independent view of self. They emphasise individual uniqueness and want to be different from others. In contrast, people in collectivist cultures have an interdependent view of self, who want to be part of the group and avoid being different from other group members (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Snyder & Fromkin, 1980; Triandis, 1995). As the construction of identity is influenced by the internalised cultural values, the motive for distinctiveness may be higher in individualist culture than in collectivist cultures (Vignoles et al., 2000). Nevertheless, Vignoles and colleagues (2006) found no significant differences between participants from individualist and collectivist cultures on the motive for distinctiveness. Their results showed that distinctiveness was likely a universal motive (Brewer, 1999; Vignoles et al., 2000). Selim and colleagues (2004) even found that distinctiveness was more prominent among people from collectivist culture than those from individualist cultures. They explained that distinctiveness was frustrated in collectivistic culture, which inspired people to crave for a unique self (Brewer & Roccas, 2001). These examples show that previous

cross-cultural research on distinctiveness has yielded mixed findings. Becker and colleagues (2011), however, pointed out that previous research had failed to identify the three constructs of distinctiveness, which might explain the inconsistent results. Becker and colleagues (2012) conducted a piece of cross-cultural research involving 21 cultural groups to examine the three constructs of distinctiveness: difference, separateness, and social position. They found that people, regardless of cultures, generally rated the identity element as self-defining that provided a greater sense of distinctiveness. They nevertheless found cultural differences on the expression of the three constructs of distinctiveness. To satisfy the distinctiveness motives, people in individualistic culture displayed higher in the constructs of difference and separateness, whereas those in collectivistic cultures reported higher in social position. Becker and colleagues' (2012) findings resolved the argument in previous literature that distinctiveness is a universal motive, as opposed to the claim that distinctiveness is exclusive to Western individualism. People in different cultures, however, attempt in various ways to satisfy the motives that fit their own cultural meaning systems (Becker et al., 2012; Vignoles et al., 2000).

After performing the quantitative analyses in Study 1, two qualitative analyses (Study 2 and Study 3) were conducted to complement the quantitative results. In both Study 2 and Study 3, the examinations of news framing and Facebook comments were able to identify the three constructs of distinctiveness. In Study 2, the news framing analysis found that news story appealed to the construct of social position. For example, news reported: "*Parents assume that children's future prosperity depends solely on academic excellence. Low achievers will have a bleak future*" (Ming Pao Daily, 14th March 2016). The present thesis collected data in Hong Kong, a bicultural city combined with both Chinese collectivistic and Western individualistic cultures. Traditional Chinese culture emphasises hierarchy and role in social relationships. Hong Kong Chinese parents are

influenced by collectivistic ideology to some extent (S. F. Lam et al., 1999). They expect their children to achieve higher academic performance to become competitive in the job market, so that their children can have a prosperous career for raising the socioeconomic position of the family (M. T. Y. Lee et al., 2006). Becker and colleagues (2012) have found that people in collectivistic cultures put more emphasis on social position relative to those living in individualist culture. Taking the previous research findings together, they may explain the present findings that Hong Kong Chinese parents paid too much attention on children's academic excellence.

Meanwhile, living in the bicultural context, Hong Kong Chinese parents are also influenced by Western individualism to a certain extent (Hong et al., 2000). Study 3 found that Facebook users enacted identity elements for satisfying motives of difference and separateness. For satisfying motives of difference, some Facebook users demonstrated an independent view of self. When news disapproved the heavy academic pressure that harmed students' mental health, Facebook users mentioned: "*I am not the kind of parent*", "*how others pursue is their own business*", and "*I am a disobedient parent*". Those responses revealed that they viewed themselves as unique individual from other parents and were able to make independent decisions on raising children. The ways they replied could be an identity enactment for satisfying the need for difference.

The identity enactment of separateness was also found in Facebook comments when news story appealed to the separated boundary between an outstanding father and his son who died by suicide. A handful of Facebook users attributed the series of student suicide to vulnerability of Hong Kong students, in contrast to students in Mainland China. A Facebook user disapproved the direct comparison between students of Hong Kong and those of Mainland China. The Facebook user said: "*I have to say that we are physically in Hong Kong*". By stating the fact that Hong Kong and Mainland China were two separate

territories, this user identified s/he as a Hongkonger, as opposed to a Mainlander, whereby displayed a need for fulfilling separateness.

Identity construction involves an interaction between personal cognition and internalised cultural values (Vignoles et al., 2000). Becker and colleagues (2012) have found that the motive of social position was higher in collectivism than in individualism, whereas the motive of difference and separateness were higher in individualism than in collectivism. The present findings showed that Hongkongers displayed the needs for satisfying the three constructs of distinctiveness. One of the possible explanations is that Hong Kong is a bicultural city and people living in the city internalised both individualist and collectivist ideologies (Hong et al., 2000). Previous research has found that Hongkongers underwent cultural frame switching between independent view of self and interdependent view of self in regard to the contexts (Chen & Bond, 2010). The present findings were yielded based on the sample from Hong Kong, those Facebook users might situationally modify their behaviours for satisfying the individualist-prone or collectivistic-prone motives accordingly. These findings will be of interest to cross-cultural research on understanding distinctiveness motive and its constructs, especially in bicultural contexts.

7.6 Implications

7.6.1 Efficacy and Belonging: An Inclusive Society

The findings in this thesis showed that news stories were framed to appeal to identity motives to create a motivated and encouraging environment. The positive sentiment the news created is in line with the changing trend whereby news framing of mental disorders has been shifting from a negative to a positive narrative over the decades. Sieff (2003) found that in earlier literature, from around 1950 to 2000, media have largely used a stigmatising narrative to describe people with mental disorders. For example, Taylor

(1957) found that media depicted people with mental disorders as "different than 'normal' people" (Sieff, 2003, p. 260). This narrative alluded to the stigmatisation of people with mental disorders that they were different from "normal people". Sieff (2003) concluded that negative framing in media representation contributed to the public's ongoing negative perceptions of mental disorders. Ma (2017), likewise, analysed published papers. She reviewed more recent literature from around 2003 to 2015 and found similar findings to those of Sieff (2003), that media generally portrayed mental disorders negatively. However, at the same time, Ma (2017) observed a changing pattern gradually emerging at the beginning of the new millennium. For example, Corrigan and colleagues (2005) found that, in 2002, newspapers started to include more recovery stories and to call for social support to facilitate recovery from mental disorders. An ongoing trend was observed that Zhang and colleagues (2015) found in their paper that, from 2000 to 2012, news media employed a significantly less stigmatising narrative to report depression. In line with the changing trend, the present data collected in 2016 discovered that a noticeable number of news items featured the stories of recovery from depression and promoted social support.

The combination of findings in this thesis provides important implications that the news framing of depression is not mainly negative, unlike the findings in previous literature (Sieff, 2003). News framing appealing to identity motives could create a motivated and supportive environment. As discussed above, efficacy and belonging are the two motives that appear to have a strong influence on the behavioural domain amongst the six motives (Vignoles et al., 2006). News stories were found prompting efficacy to promote action for tackling depression, such as seeking medical treatment, doing exercise, and practicing art therapy. A number of news stories appealed to belonging motive to promote an inclusive and supportive society: "We need to adopt an accepting attitude" (Oriental Daily, 15th December 2016), and "*Caring for oneself, caring for others*" (Ming

Pao Daily, 21st October 2016). Some other news stories evoked a sense of belonging to encourage group activities that enhanced positive emotions, such as "*Let's go hiking with friends to de-stress*" (Apple Daily, 9th October 2016). After examining news framing, this research project moved forward to study Facebook comments in response to the news. The study found that Facebook users generally picked up the messages of appealing to efficacy and belonging motives in the news narrative. A Facebook user satisfied the efficacy motive by sharing how s/he made effort to overcome depression. Other Facebook users tagged their friends to show social support that created a sense of belonging. These examples support previous research that news framing could shape public opinion (Simon & Xenos, 2000). The present findings provide important implications that, by appealing to the efficacy and belonging motives, news framing of mental disorders can create a motivated and encouraging sentiment. Facebook users will pick up the positive sentiment and enact the identity elements which can satisfy the motives for efficacy and belonging. Facebook users may share their experience of tackling mental disorders and can provide social support through Facebook commenting. The news media together with Facebook users can build an inclusive society by evoking the senses of efficacy and belonging.

7.6.2 Meaning and Distinctiveness: Challenge the Demanding Learning Culture

Another implication is that news reported on social media facilitates user discussion and guides public opinion that can challenge the existing stressful learning culture. News stories criticised the stressful school life and parents' extreme expectations of academic excellence for damaging students' mental health. News appealed to the meaning motive to urge a rethink of the meaning of learning when student suicides reached a peak and many students suffered from emotional exhaustion (R. Zhang, 2017). A news article posed a question: "*Is it worth sacrificing children's mental health for academic results?*" (Apple

Daily, 20th November 2016). Facebook users appeared to pick up the message and complained, for instance, "*When going to school is not for learning knowledge or the principles of life but for examination skills and high marks, tell me what's the meaning of learning*", as shown in Extract 18. Amid a growing sentiment of lamenting about learning having lost its value, Facebook users driven by the distinctiveness motive distinguished themselves from some other demanding parents. As shown in Extract 10 and Extract 11, users exchanged how they behaved differently from the social norm. A user mentioned s/he was not the kind of parent who demanded for academic excellence from his/her child. Another user described his/herself as a disobedient parent. These examples indicated that Facebook users picked up the message in the news stories and had a second thought of the meaning of learning. Also, when Facebook users were discussing about the parenting style, some users emphasised how their behaviours were different from some demanding parents. These responses of the Facebook users suggested that they thought learning should be meaningful and disagreed with the existing stressful learning culture.

Being able to express opinions is one of the motivations for people reading news on social media (Hille & Bakker, 2013). Decentralisation and free expression on social media amplify the voices of ordinary people to challenge existing culture. Betton and colleagues (2015) discussed social media empowering ordinary people to bring personal opinions into a public platform with the potential to affect public attitudes. They illustrated this with an example regarding a supermarket backing down when complaints about stigmatisation of mental health went viral across social media. The complaint then turned into an online campaign to raise public awareness of the stigmatisation of people based on their mental disorders. Betton and colleagues (2015) explained that it would be difficult to ignore once a topic has been spread widely and turned into public opinion. Through commenting on social media, users build a united power of ordinary people that could challenge the status

quo from bottom up (Bell & Sanderson, 2016). As discussed in the section above, the findings in Study 1 indicated that Facebook users perceived the self-definition aspects of their identity as meaningful when the aspects could distinguish them. The similar pattern emerged in Study 2 and Study 3 that when news stories disagreed with the overwhelming learning schedule for overriding the meaning of learning, Facebook users emphasised how they were different from other demanding parents. The present findings could reflect to a certain extent that general public disapproved the demanding learning culture. Kim and Yang (2017) mentioned that commenting is a cognitively triggered behaviour which involves cognitive effort to respond to a message. Facebook users have higher commitments when they respond to news stories. Li and Sakamoto (2014) found that participants' cognitive evaluation and behavioural outcomes were influenced by other users' opinions. It can therefore be assumed that, when more Facebook users express disapproval of the exhausting school life and demanding parenting styles, their comments will influence further users to change the stressful learning culture. These Facebook comments will become continuous forces to shape the public opinion which could influence policymakers and bring social and policy changes (Odugbemi, 2008).

7.7 Contribution

Pointing out at the beginning of this thesis, Mark Zuckerberg's one identity view has sparked some discussion in the literature. Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin (2008) have found that Facebook users generally presented "realistic and honest" (p. 1830) identities, by which the findings seemed to support the one identity view. On the contrary, some papers have held a perspective that people could build multiple identities on different social media so that they could select what kinds of information to present to different audience, for instance, people should separate personal and work-related identities on different social

media (Gross, 2012; van Dijck, 2013). Both perspectives on one identity and multiple identities cannot precisely describe the multidimensional identity. Indeed, this thesis has discussed another perspective about the fluidity of identity. The present thesis has suggested that motives of meaning and distinctiveness may drive Facebook users to flexibly construct and present certain aspects of their identity. As discussed above, this thesis has contributed to existing knowledge that identity is fluid, and as explained by action identification theory, people take various actions to display the different aspects in their identities, by which people satisfy certain identity motives with respect to the contexts. The present findings have provided some insights into the discussion on one identity and multiple identities in the existing literature.

Moreover, this thesis contributes theoretically to the literature by developing a conceptual model to illustrate motivational influence on identity work on Facebook. Previous research has begun to examine the motivational influence on identity construction on social media; however, questions about the relationships between identity motives and cognitive and behavioural dimensions have not been fully answered in the existing literature. Also, previous papers on Facebook identity construction have generally focused on identity work on Profiles (Batenburg & Bartels, 2017). This thesis investigates identity construction not only on Profiles but also on Facebook News Feed. One of the most frequently encountered posts on Facebook News Feed is news related posts (Müller et al., 2016; Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2015). The present research methodologically contributes to the existing knowledge of news framing by incorporating motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into framing analysis to explore how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing. Also, this thesis is the first comprehensive report on examination of how Facebook users satisfied identity motives through commenting on news framing. This thesis has set out to examine Facebook identity

motives in the bicultural Hong Kong context. The insights gained from the present research may be of assistance to a cross-cultural understanding of identity motives.

Vignoles and colleagues (2006) have demonstrated the relationships between identity motives, cognitive processes, and behavioural outcomes in offline contexts. Previous research has started to examine identity motives on social media contexts (Manzi et al., 2018; Selim et al., 2014). For example, Manzi and colleagues (2018) found a relationship between identity motive satisfaction and Facebook use. Nevertheless, their research findings did not demonstrate the unique contributions of individual motives and the dynamic of multiple motives in combination that have influences on the identity construction on social media. To the best of the present researcher's knowledge, prior to the present research project, it was difficult to make predictions about how the separation between motivational antecedents of cognition processes and behavioural outcomes on Facebook identity structure. Study 1 of this thesis tested a conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, which illustrates the clear structure of motivational, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions, as shown in Figure 6. This provides a significant theoretical contribution to the growing body of research on the motivational influence on online identity construction.

As shown in the model of Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, the continuity motive shows null finding, meanwhile motives for distinctiveness and meaning show significant findings to predict identity enactment through both perceived centrality and identity exploration. By unpacking the contributions of the motives, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure suggests a notion for future study that Facebook users claim a fluid identity, as opposed to a fixed continuing one. The rich social connect on Facebook facilitates social comparison (de Vries & Kühne, 2015). When the central aspects of identity cannot satisfy the motives for distinctiveness and meaning, users explore different

aspects of self that provide a meaningful differentiation from other users. Identity is multifaceted with various related components, so that people adjust their strategies to display the aspects of self that satisfy their identity goals (Rodriguez et al., 2016). A model, therefore, is crucial for understanding the contributions of individual motives and the dynamics of multiple motives in combinations that influence identity construction on Facebook Profiles.

Constructing identity on Facebook is Multidimensional whereby Facebook users can display their identities on Profiles and respond to other users' posts appearing on the Facebook News Feed to perform identity work. After examining identity construction on Profiles, this thesis moved forward to focus on studying identity work on Facebook News Feed. Study 2 incorporated motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into Media Framing Analysis (Giles & Shaw, 2009) to investigate how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing. This incorporation is likely be the first empirical investigation into the impact of appealing to identity motives in news framing. Methodologically, this thesis contributes to the literature that it lays the groundwork for future research into developing a qualitative method to study framing from the perspective of news readers' motivation to identify with the news. Furthermore, from the implication point of view, this work generates fresh insight into how news appeal to identity motives may facilitate a positive change in the society. As discussed in the above section, by appealing to efficacy and belonging motives, the news narrative encourages people to tackle mental disorders and to provide social support to those who are in needs whereby build an inclusive society. Moreover, news stories which appeal to meaning and distinctiveness motives may affect Facebook users' comments to challenge the demanding learning culture. When Facebook comments turn into public opinion, that can be a strong force to influence social and policy changes (Odugbemi, 2008).

Study 3 of this thesis examined Facebook comments responding to news posts and found that Facebook users enacted the identity enactment to satisfy the identity motives largely in reaction to those prompted in news framing. When the findings of news framing integrated with that of Facebook comments, the outcomes indicated that news prompting identity motives could have great impacts on Facebook users. This guides to another original contribution of this thesis that, this study appears to be their first to provide the comprehensive assessment of Facebook users' responses to news framing. For example, this study found that Facebook users responded to the three constructs of distinctiveness motive which were also identified in the news narrative. There is argument in the existing cross-cultural research that distinctiveness may be high in individualist culture whereas low in collectivist culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Snyder & Fromkin, 1980; Triandis, 1995). Becker and colleagues (2012), however, conducted a large scale of cross-cultural research and found that distinctiveness is a universal motive, but people from different cultures may employ different strategies to satisfy its three constructs. The present findings, found in a bicultural context Hong Kong (Hong et al., 2000), will be of interest to the existing cultural research on the distinctiveness motive.

Another interesting finding is that, when news appealed to the self-esteem motive, some Facebook users seemed to use humblebragging to satisfy this motive. The present research project was conducted in a bicultural context, Hong Kong (Hong et al., 2000). Previous cross-cultural research has generally found that people who are nurtured in collectivistic culture tend to have interdependent view of self and behave humbly to maintain group harmony. In contrast, people who cultivated in individualistic society are prone to have independent view of self and express individual abilities (Chen et al., 2009). This would be a fruitful area for further work on investigating whether humblebragging is a strategy of identity enactment exclusive to Hongkongers, who are acculturated in the

bicultural context, or the present findings may generalise to other populations. The outcomes in this thesis have provided a deeper insight into news framing prompting identity enactment of Facebook users' motives. Taken together, this thesis adds to the rapidly expanding field of online identity construction.

7.8 Limitation and Future Directions

Some weaknesses of the present research and further directions for future studies should also be noted. In Study 1, need for cognition (NFC) unexpectedly showed null finding. As discussed in Chapter 4, the need to exchange information is affected by environmental cues (Gangadharbatla, 2008). The Facebook environment encourages a wide variety of activities that information use is only one of them. Facebook users may not focus on information use on Facebook to satisfy their need for cognition. This may be the reason NFC yielded no significant associations in the present research. Another possible explanation of the null finding is the order of presenting the psychometric scales (the order of the online survey is shown in Figure 3). Previous research has found order effect in placing questionnaires, but nevertheless the findings were mixed (DeLamater & MacCorquodale, 1975; Turner & Krauss, 1978). The order effect varies based on research questions and methodologies of different research projects (McFarland, 1981). It is therefore difficult to determine the suitable order to present psychometric scales. Yet, counterbalancing or randomising are likely to minimise order effect (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Future research may consider these two ways to present the psychometric scales.

Study 2 collected news of depression in 2016, and in that year 22 students committed suicide within six months, which alarmed society (R. Zhang, 2017). In the present dataset, a number of news stories were related to student suicides and emotional issues, such as academic stress, exhausting school life and demanding parenting styles. The present

findings regarding news appeared to create a motivated and supportive sentiment, which may be a reaction to ease the mourning for the lost lives under such circumstances. Also, parents' calls to rethink the meaning of learning may also be an outcome of the series of tragedies. Given this, the findings may be less likely to be extrapolated to news of depression in general. Further work is required to collect news reported in different years to understand the trend in the framing of mental disorders. Chan and colleagues (2015) examined the terminology of mental illness in Hong Kong newspapers. They collected news stories 5 times in a 10-year period to show a trend of using different terminology in news media. A longitudinal work is suggested in further research to show the effect of appealing to identity motives in news framing.

Another limitation is that this thesis has set out to examine identity construction on Facebook but has not compared it with that on other social media platforms. Previous research has found different self-presentation behaviours on American-based Facebook, in comparison with a Japanese-based platform (Marcus & Krishnamurthi, 2009) and a Korean-based platform (Cho, 2010). Qiu, Lin, and Leung (2013) found that users shifted their behaviours between American-based Facebook and a Chinese-based social media platform. They explain there may be nuances of cultures in different social media platforms. However, questions remain unanswered if the social media cultural are induced by social media developers, or social media users brought their internalised cultural behaviour from offline to online contexts (Qiu et al., 2013). The present conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, has been developed based on the Facebook context without being tested in different social media. Further work may be needed to test Motivational Facebook Identity Structure on various platforms.

Regarding Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, a future direction is proposed. As discussed above, the continuity motive appears to be a weak motive in the present

research. Likewise, Selim and colleagues (2014) found that continuity was least dominant compared with five other motives when they explored identity motives on Twitter. Taken together, the findings suggest that people are not particularly motivated to construct a continuous identity on social media. This thesis, therefore, proposes that Facebook users are motivated to construct a fluid Facebook identity, instead of a fixed one. The construction of identity does not happen in a social and cultural vacuum (Israel & Tajfel, 1972). Instead, identity is a combination of personal and social construction (Vignoles, 2011) and the construction of it is an ongoing process (Jenkins, 2006) in response to a variety of situational contexts (Goffman, 1956). Facilitated by advanced mobile technology, smartphones allow instant upload on social media. This may induce a sense of 'here and now' (Selim et al., 2014, p. 130), and at the same time, the motivation to present a continuous identity declines. Previous literature has discussed the fluidity of identity (Bauman & Haugaard, 2008; Giddens, 1991; Jenkins, 2006). For Papacharissi (2010), the presentation of self in current modern society is a fluid abstraction. Self-presentation is an evolving cycle that people flexibly present, adjust and reconstruct their identity in response to the sociocultural environment. Social media enable users to build Profiles, connect to existing and potential friends, and view other users' Profiles (boyd & Ellison, 2008). The identity performance on social media presents to multiple audiences and can be adjusted to respond to feedback from other users. A fluid identity, therefore, may be more welcomed on social media than a fixed one. Nevertheless, the notion of fluid identity on social media has not been fully understood. Also, the findings of this thesis and that of Selim and colleagues (2014) may be somewhat limited by American-based social media platforms, Facebook and Twitter. Considerably more work needs to be done to examine the multifaceted of identity and test the present conceptual model on different platforms.

A final recommendation for future work is to develop a framing analysis of identity motives that is compatible with examining multimedia. The present thesis, incorporating motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) into Media Framing Analysis (Giles & Shaw, 2009), is able to examine how news narrative prompted identity motives. The analysis, however, significantly focus on text-based content. In the present day, news media rush to social media to report news on such platforms in a multimedia format (Müller et al., 2016). There is a growing need to develop an analysis that is available to study news presented in different media formats.

7.9 Concluding Remarks

The main purpose of this thesis was to examine the motivational influence on the cognitive and behavioural dimensions of Facebook identity construction. A conceptual model, Motivational Facebook Identity Structure, has been tested for the first time in the existing literature to illustrate the influence of identity motives on Facebook identity work. The principal theoretical implication of this thesis is that each of the motives of self-esteem, efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, meaning and belonging contribute uniquely to cognitive and behavioural domains of Facebook identity construction. In the cognitive dimension, Facebook users are driven by their identity motives to construct central aspects and explore different aspects of their identity. In the behavioural dimension, using smartphones, posting on Facebook Walls, and changing Profile Pictures are ways to satisfy their identity motives. After examining identity motives on Facebook Profiles, this thesis moved on to explore the motivational influence on identity construction on Facebook News Feed. This research project examined how news media appealed to identity motives in news framing and the presence of activities aimed at satisfying identity motives in Facebook users' responses to news framing. This research project appears to be the only

empirical investigations into the influence of identity motives on news framing and Facebook users' comments. The findings of the news framing and Facebook comments provide fresh insights for building an inclusive society and changing the stressful learning culture. Overall, this research project has made original contributions to the literature theoretically, methodologically, and practically on the understanding of motivational influence on identity construction on social media. This thesis has provided some answers, but more importantly, it has opened up the notion for potentially fruitful future research in the field.

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Appendices

Appendix A Ethics Confirmation Letter

Research, Innovation and Academic Engagement Ethical Approval Panel

Research Centres Support Team
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12 June 2017

Dear Stephanie,

RE: ETHICS APPLICATION–HSR1617-125–'Social Cognitive Pathway: A model of media influence and social influence on identity motives among Hong Kong Facebook Users.'

Based on the information you provided I am pleased to inform you that application HSR1617-125 has been approved.

If there are any changes to the project and/or its methodology, then please inform the Panel as soon as possible by contacting Health-ResearchEthics@salford.ac.uk

Yours sincerely,

Sue McAndrew
Chair of the Research Ethics Panel

Appendix B Psychometric Scales for Study 1

The questionnaires below have been reproduced from the original online survey. In the actual online survey, only the Chinese version was used.

Measurement of need for cognition

Cognitive thinking tendency

Please rate the following statements from 1 extremely uncharacteristic of you to 5 extremely characteristic of you to indicate your general cognitive thinking tendency, no right or wrong answers.

思考模式習慣

就你個人特質，以 1 至 5 分為評分單位，選擇最適合形容你的數字。1 分代表極度不是你的特質，5 分代表極度是你的特質。答案沒有對錯，只是反映你的普遍情況。

	Extremely uncharacteristic 極度不是				Extremely characteristic 極度是
	1	2	3	4	5
I would prefer complex to simple problems. 我喜歡複雜的問題多於簡單的問題。	○	○	○	○	○
I like to have the responsibility of handling a situation that requires a lot of thinking. 我喜歡負責處理需要許多思考的情況。	○	○	○	○	○
Thinking is not my idea of fun.* 我不能從思考中找到樂趣。	○	○	○	○	○
I would rather do something that requires little thought than something that is sure to challenge my thinking abilities.*	○	○	○	○	○

我寧願做一些只需要一點點思考的事情，而不是那些肯定會挑戰我思維能力的事情。 I try to anticipate and avoid situations where there is likely chance I will have to think in depth about something.* 我嘗試預測和避免一些有可能要我深入思考事情的情況。	○	○	○	○	○
I find satisfaction in deliberating hard and for long hours. 我在長時間的慎重思考中找到滿足。	○	○	○	○	○
I only think as hard as I have to.* 我只按照要求去思考。	○	○	○	○	○
I prefer to think about small, daily projects to long-term ones.* 我寧願思考日常瑣碎的項目多於思考長遠的項目。	○	○	○	○	○
I like tasks that require little thought once I've learned them.* 我喜歡一些一旦學會了就不需要太多思考的任務。	○	○	○	○	○
The idea of relying on thought to make my way to the top appeals to me. 要動腦以達到高成就的想法吸引我。	○	○	○	○	○
I really enjoy a task that involves coming up with new solutions to problems. 我真的享受涉及思考新解決方案的任務。	○	○	○	○	○
Learning new ways to think doesn't excite me very much.* 學習新的思維方式並不會令我非常興奮。	○	○	○	○	○
I prefer my life to be filled with puzzles that I must solve. 我寧願我的生活充滿著令我必須要去解決的難題。	○	○	○	○	○
The notion of thinking abstractly is appealing to me. 抽象思維的概念能夠吸引我。	○	○	○	○	○

I would prefer a task that is intellectual, difficult, and important to one that is somewhat important but does not require much thought. 我寧願做需要運用智力、有難度及重要的任務，多於算是重要但不需要太多思考的任務。	○	○	○	○	○
I feel relief rather than satisfaction after completing a task that required a lot of mental effort.* 在完成需要大量運用腦筋的任務之後，我感到解脫而不是感到滿足。	○	○	○	○	○
It's enough for me that something gets the job done; I don't care how or why it works.* 對我來說，完成工作已經足夠了。我不管如何或為何可以完成。	○	○	○	○	○
I usually end up deliberating about issues even when they do not affect me personally. 我通常會慎重思考問題，即使那些問題對我個人沒有影響。	○	○	○	○	○

* Reverse scoring is used on this item.

Measurement of smartphone use

Smartphone use tendency

Please rate the following statements from 1 not true at all to 10 extremely true indicate your general smartphone use tendency, no right or wrong answers.

使用手提電話習慣

就你個人使用手提電話習慣，以 1 至 10 分為評分單位，選擇最適合形容你的數字。1 分代表完全不是你的習慣，10 分代表絕對是你的習慣。答案沒有對錯，只是反映你的普遍情況。

Not true at all 完全不是									Extremely true 絕對是
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

I can never spend enough time on my mobile phone. 我花在手提電話的時間永遠都不夠。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have used my mobile phone to make myself feel better when I was feeling down. 當我情緒低落時，我會用手提電話令自己感覺好些。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I find myself occupied on my mobile phone when I should be doing other things, and it causes problems. 我發覺我花在手提電話的時間佔據了我應該做其他事情的時間，亦因此引起問題。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
All my friends own a mobile phone. 我所有的朋友都擁有手提電話。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have tried to hide from others how much time I spend on my mobile phone. 我試圖躲避，不讓別人知道我花多少時間在我的手提電話上。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I lose sleep due to the time I spend on my mobile phone. 因為花時間在手提電話，令我損失睡眠時間。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have received mobile phone bills I could not afford to pay. 我曾經收到我付不起的手提電話賬單。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When out of range for some time, I become preoccupied with the thought of missing a call or message. 當有一段時間用不到手提電話，我不斷想著會錯失接聽電話或訊息。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Sometimes, when I am on the mobile phone and I am doing other things, I get carried away with the conversation or message and I don't pay attention to what I am doing. 有時，當我用手提電話及同時做其他事情，我太投入於談話或發訊息，令我沒有專注於正在做的事。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The time I spend on the mobile phone has increased over the last 12 months. 過去的 12 個月，我花多了時間在手提電話上。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have used my mobile phone to get in touch with others when I was feeling isolated. 當我感到孤立，我曾用我的手提電話和別人聯繫。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have attempted to spend less time on my mobile phone but am unable to. 我曾嘗試花少些時間在我的手提電話上，但我做不到。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I find it difficult to switch off my mobile phone. 我發覺要關掉我的手提電話是很難的。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel anxious if I have not checked for messages or switched on my mobile phone for some time. 如果我沒有檢查訊息，或者沒有開手提電話一段時間，我會覺得著急。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have frequent dreams about the mobile phone. 我的夢經常與手提電話有關。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My friends and family complain about my use of the mobile phone. 我的家人和朋友抱怨我使用手提電話。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

If I don't have a mobile phone, my friends would find it hard to get in touch with me. 如果我沒有手提電話，我的朋友們會很難與我聯繫。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My productivity has decreased as a direct result of the time I spend on the mobile phone. 我花在手提電話的時間令我工作效率減慢了。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have aches and pains that are associated with my mobile phone use. 我身體的疼痛與我使用手提電話有關。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I find myself engaged on the mobile phone for longer periods of time than intended. 我發現自己花在手提電話上的時間比預期長。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
There are times when I would rather use the mobile phone than deal with other more pressing issues. 有些時候，我寧願用手提電話，也不處理其他更緊迫的事情。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am often late for appointments because I'm engaged on the mobile phone when I shouldn't be. 我經常遲到，因為我花不必要的時間在手提電話上。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I become irritable if I have to switch off my mobile phone for meetings, dinner engagements, or at the movies. 如果我要在會議、晚餐約會、或看電影時關掉手提電話，我會變得煩躁。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

I have been told that I spend too much time on my mobile phone. 有人告訴我，我花太多時間在我的手提電話上。	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
More than once I have been in trouble because my mobile phone has gone off during a meeting, lecture, or in a theatre. 不止一次，因為我的手提電話在會議中、課堂、或影院響起，引致麻煩。	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
My friends don't like it when my mobile phone is switched off. 我的朋友不喜歡我關手提電話。	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
I feel lost without my mobile phone. 當我沒有手提電話在身邊的時候，我感到失落。	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

Measurement of identity motives and Facebook identity-related use

Facebook identity

Please rate the following statements from 1 not at all to 7 very much to indicate your general Facebook use tendency, no right or wrong answers.

Facebook 身份

就你使用 Facebook 的情況，以 1 至 7 分為評分單位，選擇最適合形容你的數字。1 分代表完全沒有，7 分代表非常多。答案沒有對錯，只是反映你的普遍情況。

	Not at all 完全沒有						Very much 非常多
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much does your Facebook profile give you a sense of self-esteem? 你的 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 給你多少自尊感?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

How much does your Facebook profile make you feel effective or competent in doing the things you do? 你的 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 讓你有多能感覺到自己是有效能或能勝任你做的事情？	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your Facebook profile give you a sense of continuity - between past, present, and future? 你的 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 給你多少連貫過去、現在和將來的人生的感覺？	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
How much do you feel that your Facebook profile distinguishes you from other people? 你覺得你的 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 有多能使你與其他人區分出來？	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your Facebook profile make you feel close to other people? 你的 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 令你有多少與其他人接近的感覺？	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
How much do you feel that your Facebook profile gives a “meaning” to your life? 你的 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 有多能給你人生一些「意義」？	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
How much do you see your Facebook profile as central to your identity? 你的 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 有多能代表你的主要身份？	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
How important is your Facebook profile in defining who you are? 你的 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 在界定「你是誰」有多重要？	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Please rate the following statements from 1 never to 6 every day to indicate your general Facebook use tendency, no right or wrong answers.
就你使用 Facebook 情況，以 1 至 6 分為評分單位，選擇最適合形容你的數字。1 分代表從不，6 分代表每日。

	Never 從不					Every day 每日
	1	2	3	4	5	6
How often do you post on your Facebook? 你幾耐發一次貼子 (post) 到自己 Facebook?	○	○	○	○	○	○
How often do you change your Facebook profile pic? 你幾耐轉一次 Facebook 頭像 (profile pic)?	○	○	○	○	○	○

Please rate the following statements from 1 not at all to 8 extremely to indicate your general Facebook use tendency, no right or wrong answers.
就你使用 Facebook 情況，以 1 至 8 分為評分單位，選擇最適合形容你的數字。1 分代表完全不對，8 分代表極對。

	Not at all 完全不對							Extremely 極對
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
My Facebook profile lets me test a different way of being myself than usual ones. 我 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 令我可以試做一個與平時不同的自己。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My Facebook profile lets me explore new aspects of myself. 我 Facebook profile (個人檔案) 令我可以探索自己新的方面。	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Collection of demographic data

Demographic information 基本資料

Gender 性別： ○ Male 男 ○ Female 女

Age 年齡： _____

Educational level: ○ Below secondary 中學以下
教育程度： ○ Secondary 中學程度
○ Post-secondary 大專程度
○ Degree 大學程度
○ Post-graduate 大學以上程度
○ Others
Please specific: _____

Occupation: ○ Student 學生
職業： ○ Clerical 文職
○ Service industry 服務業
○ Health 醫護界
○ Education 教育界
○ Social services 社福界
○ Technical 技術人員
○ Managerial 管理人員
○ Unemployed 待業
○ Others
Please specific: _____